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THE
ENGLISH Realm

A perfect Sovereignty and Empire;

AND THE

KING

A Compleat and Imperial Sovereign.

Proved from the Express STATUTES of the Kingdom, and the Authority of the most Famous English Lawyers.

WITH

A full Justification of the Doctrine of PASSIVE OBEDIENCE and NON-RESISTANCE, as practised by the Primitive Christians, and maintained by the Principles of the Church of ENGLAND.

Totius Injustitiæ nulla capitalior est, quam eorum qui tum, cum maxime fallunt, id agunt, ut viri boni esse videantur.

CICERO de Offic. Lib. I.

Printed in the Year MDCCXVII.

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true, but likewise just, is evident, as will be
evident.

Cicero de Off. lib. i.

Printed in the Year MDCCLXXII

[3]

READER,

THE Design of these Sheets, is to Reconcile thee to the true Notions of Liberty and Property, and those Passive Christian Principles, which the Whigs so much oppose, in order to give a Right Turn to People's Thoughts.

If thou art a Whig, pray suffer thy ill Ferment to subside a little, keep thy Temper, and think with more Calmness while I take off thy Mask, and shew thee and the rest of thy dear Brethren, in your own native Shape and Colours; and if it shall have that Influence upon you, to abjure your wild Whiggish Notions, I will think my Pains well bestow'd: But if not, thou art strangely hardened, and thy stubborn ill Nature, and pernicious Principles, will ruin thy Religion thou so much pretendest to.

Consider then, that by your Proceedings it plainly appears, that your Maxims are the same with the Jesuits; your Preachers Sermons have been delivered in the very Phrase and Stile of Becanus, Scippius, and Eudemon Johannes; The poor Arguments, which are delivered in your Seditious Pamphlets, and other Writings, are taken almost verbatim out of Bellarmin and Suarez, as appears by King James VI. his Monitory Preface to all Christian Kings and Princes, and his Apology for the Oath of Allegiance; and in the Books writ by others in Defence of them

both. In all which these Arguments are fully answered. And that the Means which you have used to induce a Credit of your Conclusions with your Profelytes, are purely and merely Jesuitical Fables, false Reports, false Prophecies, pretended Inspirations and Divinations of the weaker Sex; as if now *Herod* and *Pilate* were once again reconciled for the Ruin of *Christ*; and His true Religion and Worship.

You cannot but acknowledge, that *Liberty*, *Property* and *Life* are the Trinity which you do most adore! agreeably to what your old *Observator* says (a). *That they are the Trinity which our Laws seem to worship here on Earth.* 'Tis true, that *Liberty*, in the right Notion of it, *Liberty* from Spiritual Servitude, *Liberty* of the Sons of God, which consists in Obedience to all the Precepts of Christianity, *Subjection to Kings* being one of them, is a glorious Thing. Yea *Liberty* from Bodily Slavery, *Liberty* in Opposition to Banishments and Prisons, the *Liberties*, Rights, or ancient Customs of the Subjects, are choice Temporal Blessings; which a *Loyal Christian* is as sensible of, and thankful for, as any of you *Whigs* can be.

But pray, what else do you and your Confederates generally mean by *Liberty*, but an Immunity from all Laws, both Ecclesiastical and Civil? A License to Resist and Depose your Sovereign, upon what you call *Extremity*, and pressing Occasions; and you, forsooth, must be the Judges too: Yea, a *Liberty* to annihilate the very Notion of the Hereditary Right of our Kings and Queens, denying them any other Title except the People's Bounty, with a dreadful Explanation, *That they who have a Right to Confer,*

(a) *Observat.* Vol. 3. Numb. 99. March 28. 1705.

fer, have also a Right to Transfer. A little *Whig*, Heir to Two or Three Hundred a Year, would grumble terribly to be so served: But with you, it seems every one ought to have Unalienable Rights, except Kings, Queens, and their Loyal Subjects. You Gentlemen would be at *Liberty*, to obey your Superiors no longer than your Superiors do please and obey you; and are resolved to continue as great Strangers to the *Patience*, as you are to the *Faith* of the Saints.

'Tis no new Thing, for your Patrons of *Resistance* to gild their Deformities, by giving good Names to bad Things: Thus, in the Days of your Ancestors, the *Saints* of 41, and 48. the *Usurpers* were call'd *Keepers of the Liberties of their Country!* A Transformation of the Church into a *Babel*, was call'd, *Glorious Reformation!* The Kingdom in a Blaze, was call'd, *Gospel Light!* Extinguishing all Remorse, Compassion, and Good-Nature, was call'd, *Subduing of the Passions!* And then, as well as now, by the same *Whiggism*, to be Independent of Law, and free from Subjection to Princes, when they fancy themselves griev'd, was, and is call'd *Liberty*.

Consult but the Writings of the present *Whigs*, about *Liberty*, *Property*, *Resistance*, and the like, and you'll find them an exact Counter-part of your Ancestors Books in King *Charles* the First's Days; and to read them, is sufficient to convert a *Sadducee*, and make him confess a Resurrection of the *Regicides*; or at least to convince him of a Transmigration of those *King-killing* Souls into our modern *Whig-Scriblers*: They interpret their *Liberties* the same Way. And it may not be improper to ask, Whe-

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ther such a Correspondence in Method, can be without some Conformity in Design?

I know you will be ready to tell me, That when you speak of *Liberty*, you mean the Rights and Privileges of the Subjects, confirm'd by the Laws and Customs of the Land; and that when these are notably broke in upon by the Prince, and Things brought to *Extremity*, 'tis then, you think, *Resistance* or *Rebellion* is justifiable.

As to *Rights* and *Privileges*, or *Liberties* of the Subject, even *Magna Charta*, the great Record of them, tells us, that they are Grants and Concessions of the *King*, and not the inherent Original Rights of the *People*: They are not held absolutely, but upon Condition of our firm Allegiance. Thus they were Forfeited by Rebellion, and so cannot be defended by it. Particularly,

As to the Subject's *Property in his Lands*: The highest Degree of this Property, which any Person has, is that which Lawyers call *ALODIAL*; that is, holding from *GOD* alone, in his own full Right, without any Service, Payment of Rent, Vassalage, Load or Burden. This high Degree of Property, our Kings and Queens only have.---- The Property which Subjects have in their Lands, is only *FEUDAL*; that is, they hold their Lands of the *King* or *Queen* in *Fee*; which, tho' it gives a perpetual Estate, yet not absolutely, but conditionally; for it depends upon their *Fidelity*, upon their Acknowledgment of his Superiority: Hence, all *FEUDA* are lost by *Rebellion* and *Treason*, and are absolutely (b) at the King's Disposal. The highest Expression of a Subject's Right and Property, which Law will justify, is this,

(b) 25. Edw. III. Cap. 2.

this, as I am inform'd. He is seis'd of such Lands in his Demain as Fee. So that according to the Laws of the Land, the Rights and Properties of the Subject can never be maintain'd, but are always lost by *Resistance* or *Rebellion*.

I am aware, that the *thorough-pac'd Whigs* will not mind *Lawyers* more than *Divines* upon this Head of *Property*! Such as imagine that they are *Kings, Priests* and *Prophets* to themselves, cannot doubt but that they have a Power to put what Sense upon Words they please, and to act accordingly: Thus the plain *English* of you Whigs, for *Property*, is, *What is thine is mine, and what is mine is my own*.

This is no Banter, but a sad Truth; for your *Property-Men* of 41. and 48. whose Principles our present *Whigs* inherit, did confirm what I say, when they had Power equal to their Will: They left no *Property* to the *Mitre* and the *Crown*, or to such as dar'd bravely to espouse their Cause. *The Saints, the Meek, shall inherit the Earth*, was thought enough to give that Set of Men, who *Sainted* themselves, a Title to the Lands and Possessions of the *Malignants*; which was a Name they gave to every Body but themselves. The then *Sequestrations, Decimations, Plunders, Banishments, Imprisonments, &c.* do sufficiently tell us, that what they mean by *Property*, is as above express'd.

But I foresee you will still be ready to say, That setting aside the Law-Notions of *ALODIAL* and *FEUDAL PROPERTY*, you think, that when a Prince unjustly takes away the Estates and Lives of dutiful Subjects, it were very unreasonable to sit still, and not to take up Arms; you ought to *Bridle* the

Prince,

Prince, to set Things to Rights, and to prevent the Ruin of a Nation.

If Sovereign Princes should behave so, who shall be Judge of the Justice or Injustice of their Actions? If the People: This makes the Governours Subjects, and the Subjects Governours; sets the Feet where the Head should be. If the Persons and Authority of Princes were not inviolably secured from Popular Insults, by the Precepts of Christianity, 'tis evident that the Weakness of the People's Understandings, the Strength of their Passions, and the Unweildiness of their Numbers, would prove them utterly incapable of such Work, as to call their Governours to an Account: And that they are better qualified to cry, *Have ye any Kettles to mend*, than, *Have ye any Crowns to mend*. Madnes is their Character upon sacred Record, and must such take upon them the Authority of setting Things to Rights? Whosoever speaks of their invading such Superiority, without putting them in Mind of the Gallows here, and of Damnation hereafter, must do it by that Figure, by which Idiots and Madmen are under the actual Sanction of no Law.

Compare Tyranny with Rebellion, and you'll find no such Mischief by the first, as by the last. If the People Rebel, Thousands of Tyrants start up instead of one; then is Hell broke loose, and more are destroy'd in one Day, than could otherwise be in many Months. The Wrath of a King is said to be like the Roaring of a Lion, but that of the People like the Roaring of the Sea; 'tis as an Inundation which carries all before it: And to flee from the King to them for Help, is like running into the Ocean for fear of a little Rivulet. 'Tis better to suffer much under real Grievances, than to indulge the pernicious

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Freedom of righting ourselves, and so introduce an Intestine War; which is incomparably worse than the worst of Tyrannical Princes.

'Tis true, that to sit still and suffer, rather than to rise up and resist, is a hard Lesson; but 'tis such a one as God has set us, and must be learn'd. Very pertinent are the Words of Elibu, *Job xxxiv. 17, 18. Shall even he that hates Right, Govern? And wilt thou condemn him that is most just? Is it fit to say to a King, Thou art Wicked? And to Princes, Ye are Ungodly?* Here, Elibu supposing, through Mistake, that *Job* unworthily repin'd at God's severe Hand upon him, argues, That a King, who is a Hater of Justice, must yet by vertue of his Prerogative, govern his Subjects, and not be abused by them: And from thence infers, that much more we ought calmly to subject ourselves to the Providential Dispensations of Almighty God our Creator, who can never do an unjust Thing. The sacred Oracles are full and plain for the passive Behaviour of Subjects. *Prov. xxx. 31. Against a King there is no rising up. Eccles. viii. 4. Who may say to him, What doest thou? Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 5. Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers----- They that resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation---- Ye must needs be subject, not only for Wrath, but also for Conscience sake, &c. Exod. xxii. 28. Psal. lxxxii. 6. Prov. xxiv. 21. Eccles. x. 20. 1 Tim. ii. 1, 2. Tit. ii. 1, 2. 1 Pet. ii. 17, 20.* Such as chuse to save their Temporal Life by resisting God's Precept, lose their Eternal Life, according to His Threatning: And what Madness is it to rise up and strike, when the Blow recoils on ourselves to our Eternal Downfall.

Men of true Christian Wisdom and Honour will discharge excessive Regards for this Life, rather than

neglect the other; will let their Protection remain in God Almighty's Hands, rather than foolishly act as if they were their own only Guardians. They know, that *Preserver of Men* is one of God's Names, *Job. vii. 20.* That the *Hearts of Kings are in His Hand*, *Prov. xxi. 1.* That he suits *Hereditary Kings* to the People's Circumstances as they are good or bad, and will not suffer them to bear hard upon their Subjects, longer than is necessary for their due Correction. Thus it is not *Resistance*, but an humble *Passive Submission*, with Amendment of our Lives, earnest Prayers to God, and a true Practice of Religion, that are the best Methods against such a Prince as you suppose.

But still you will say, What if the Prince manifestly attempts to destroy True Religion in his Kingdoms? You might then, without the least Scruple, take God's Cause in Hand; *Hostile Resistance*, in such a Case, being but an interposing ourselves for the Safeguard of Religion, and *helping the Lord against the Mighty!*

It must indeed be but a very indifferent Sort of Religion that Men would defend by *Rebellion*, even as good a Religion surely, as Rebels are good Men and obedient Subjects: And therefore it is but fit, we should know a little what the Religion of you *Whigs* and your Allies is.

I said before that *Liberty, Property, and Life*, are your *Trinity*. You are for striking the Fifth Commandment out of the *Decalogue*, as dangerous to your *Liberties*; because it fixes the Duty they owe to God's *Viceregents*. You are for overthrowing all the Fences of the *Christian Church*, and hold, that *Schism* is but a mere Bug-bear. You are generally against *Kneeling or Standing, or Changing these Postures*

stures at Divine Worship; for no other Reason, that I can conceive, but that it would spoil many a good Nap, which do at such Seasons give a more than ordinary Regale to your Senses.

You further maintain, that mere *Possession* gives Right. And this Notion gives Robbers a Title to our Goods, if they can but carry them off: It deposes all fixt Measures of Right and Wrong, destroys all real Distinction twixt Moral Good and Evil, and so eraseeth the whole Line of Duty: It puts no Difference between a Robber and an honest Man, between an *Oliver* and the most *Rightful King* or *Queen* in the World; but only this very ill-natur'd one, That if *Robbers* or *Olivers* get into Possession, they have more Right to their Acquisitions, than the *Wrong'd Rightful Owner*.

In a Word, your Doctors of *Resistance* burlesque *Christ's* Commission to His Disciples. *Go into the World*; that is, according to *Whiggish* Principles and Practices, *Go and overturn the World* by seditious Doctrines. *Preach*; that is, *Wash People in their own Blood*. *Loose*; that is, *Loose them from all steady, honest, and loyal Principles*. *Bind*; that is, *Bind the Doctrines of Resistance, Popular Power, &c. bare and fast on their Consciences*.

If these be Branches of your *Whiggish* Religion, then such Religion is *Rebellion*; Witchcraft, the Inspiration of Satan; and fit for nothing but Destruction. No Government in the World will endure a Religion that teaches *Rebellion*; no not yourselves, when you are uppermost.

But now, suppose the *Rightful Sovereign* was an Infidel or an Heretick, and attempted to banish the true Religion out of his Dominions; yet in this, which is the Cause of God, and the highest imagi-

nable Case, *Hostile Resistance* or *Rebellion*, is Damnable: For, the Christian Religion is *Peaceable*; *Rebellion* is quite contrary to its *Genius*, and to its Precepts, (as is already noted) and to defend the one by the other, is confederating with the Devil, to support the Church; 'tis to disgrace Religion under Pretence of contending for its Honour; and is pretending to serve God, in direct Opposition to God's Will.

Nebuchadnezzar, was a Persecutor of God's People, and of their Religion; yet he had his Power from God, *Dan. ii. 37, 38.* was called *God's Servant*, *Fer. xxvii. 6, 7.* and the *Jews* were commanded to *submit to his Yoke*. And it is impossible, one would think, to imagine, that Religion, in its more Evangelical Edition, should countenance *Mob* and *Violence*, or need such Supports; since nothing is plainer in this Case, than that it commands Subjects to take up the *Cross*, and not the *Sword*. Our Saviour wrought a Miracle, to make Satisfaction for *Peter's Resistance*, after he had rebuked him; and tho' He had *Legions* of Angels at His Command, yet He resisted not *Pilate* the *Roman Governour* sent by *Cesar*, but own'd his Power to be *given him from above*, *St. John xix. 10, 11.* and patiently submitted to the most execrable Sentence. And thus behaving Himself, He is propounded by *St. Peter* as a *Pattern for our Imitation*, *1 Pet. ii. 21, 22, 23.* under the severest Usage.

The *Primitive Roman Christians* knew this: And therefore when persecuted for Religion, never offered to *Rebel* in its Defence.

I know that you *Whigs* resolve their *Non-resistance* into mere Impotence: But is it possible for any to think, that their Goodness was entirely *Whiggish*; that

that their Patience was but like yours, when under Hatches?

Tertullian observes (c), That in his Time their Enemies mightily complain'd of their great Numbers; That the City was, as it were, invested by them; That they abounded in the Countries, Castles and Isles; and that all Sexes, Ages, States and Conditions, went over to them, And the Great *Grotius* says (d), *Wherefore I think, that the Primitive Christians, who living nearest the Times of the Apostles, and of Apostolical Men, better and more fully both understood and practised the Discipline prescrib'd by them, are very much injured by those who suppose that they rather wanted Power than Will, to defend themselves in imminent Danger of Death.* And citing the same Passage from *Tertullian*, as above, says, *Indeed Tertullian would have been very imprudent, nay, impudent, to have so confidently affirmed a Falshood to the Emperors, who could not be ignorant of it, writing thus, &c.* And so goes on to give the concurrent Testimonies of other Fathers, such as *Cyprian, Lactantius, St. Cyrill, and St. Augustine, &c.* Now those that put their Quietness upon the Foot of mere Weakness, do destroy their Innocence, rob them of the Glory of Martyrdom, and justify their Persecutors, who did only strike first, to prevent the fatal Blow that was meditated by the Christians, as you *Whigs* do very falsly imagine.

I hope, Reader, (supposing you to be a *Whig*, as I have all along;) by this Time, you'll begin to think, like a Christian, that Religion defies Rebellion, and ever stood, and will stand without it; that there is nothing more puissant than the Church, stronger

(c) *Apol. C. 1. Obsessam vociferantur Civitatem, &c.* (d) *Dé Jure Belli--- B. 1. c. 4. n. 7.*

stronger than the Earth; (e) yea the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against it. Christ is the Rock and Protector of the Church, and (f) over-rules all Things for her Advantage. If GOD at any Time send bad Kings, who rage against the true Religion; their Aim is, indeed, properly to persecute: But GOD's Aim is, either that false Brethren may be detected, or, that the Faith and Patience of the Saints may be tried, or, that Unbelievers, by seeing a Concurrence of all the Christian Virtues, in the humble and patient Conduct of the Faithful, might be brought over to the true Religion, as it happened in the primitive Times: But GOD never design'd that Religion should press Rebellion into its Service; but on the contrary, has, by the plainest Precepts, guarded the Persons of KINGS from Violence, and made the resisting their Authority penal in the highest Degree, as our Laws have, in Consequence, made it Treason.

I ask Pardon for this long Epistle, and heartily pray that what is here sent you, may be a happy Means fully to disengage your Mind from the very ill Notions of the Whigs; that for the Future they may have neither Credit in your Opinion, nor Influence on your Practice.

(e) St. Matth. 16. 18. (f) Eph. 1. 22.

A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

LET the discerning Reader be pleased to know, that, whereas in the foregoing Preface there are some free Touches at divers Things as maintain'd by the Whigs, what is spoken that Way, is with this restrictive Rule of the Logician: *Non de singulis generum, sed de generibus Singulorum*: For I know there are a great many well meaning and moderate Men among them; the former Discourse is far from meaning such; and therefore I hope the Freedom I have taken that Way will be the more easily excused.

The

The Sovereignty of the Kings of England prov'd, and the Doctrine of Passive Obedience justify'd.

WHAT has been already advanc'd in the Preface, about the true Notions of *Liberty* and *Property*, and those *Passive Christian Principles*, which I have endeavour'd to defend; I am to prosecute more fully in the Sequel of this Discourse, wherein I will proceed to a more particular Justification of the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience* in its full Latitude.

BUT to state this Matter clearly, and to the Satisfaction of the Reader, I must here beg Leave to distinguish between the Laws in any Government, which declare; and ascertain the *Rights of the Sovereign*, and those which secure the *Rights of the Subject*. By the *Rights of the Sovereign*, I understand those Prerogatives, and Pre-eminencies of Power and Greatness, which are involved in the formal Conception of *Sovereignty*: For there are certain essential Rights of *Sovereignty*, or *Supremacy*, which equally belong to Sovereigns of all Sorts, as to have Sense belongs to all Sorts of Animals; and which without destroying the very Notion of a *Sovereign*, you cannot abstract from him, no more than Roundness from a Circle or Sphere. For they (a) constitute the essential Difference between

(a) Ad nullum pertinent, nisi ad Coronam & dignitatem Regiam, nec a Corona separari poterunt cum faciant ipsam Coronam. Bract. l. 2. c. 24.

between *Supremacy* and *Subjection*, so that, whosoever hath them, is a compleat *Sovereign*, and whosoever wants them, or any of them, is a *Subject*, or at least an incomplete *Sovereign*; and in all perfect and regular Governments, these essential Rights of *Sovereignty* equally belong to the *supreme Power*, whether Princes or States, by the common and statute Laws thereof.

Such as these, in the first Place, is to be (b) ἀναπρεθυῖν accountable to none except God: For if there be any Power to which Princes, or States are accountable, within their Dominions, let their Names sound never so big, they are not *Sovereign*, but *subject Sovereignty*, as the very Notion implies, being such a pre-eminent Jurisdiction, as makes all other Persons within the Lines of it, accountable unto it, but it, or the Person, or Persons invested with it, accountable to none.

Secondly, To have the (c) sole Power, and Disposal of the *Sword*, for to suppose, that another hath a Right to bear the *Sword* besides the *Sovereign*, is to suppose that the *Sovereign* hath an *Equal*, which is a Contradiction to the Notion of *Sovereignty*, and that in the same Government there may be two *sovereign Powers*.

Thirdly, To be free from all *coercive*, and *vindicative Powers*; for if in any Government there were a Power, which had Authority to compel, or punish the *Sovereign*, for this Reason would not be *Sovereign*, but a *Subject* to that Power.

Fourthly, Not to be (d) *resisted* or withstood by Force upon any Pretence whatsoever; for otherwise the *Sovereign* would be controulable by Force, which is inconsistent with the Majesty, and Dignity of the *sovereign Power*, and supposes that *Subjects* have a Right to Judge when they may *resist*, or withstand their *Sovereign*, which is a thousand Times more inconvenient and pernicious to human Societies, than patiently submitting to the Abuse of the *sovereign Power*.

Lastly,

(b) Sarr. Bochart Ep. p. 32. (c) Ibid. p. 90. (d) Ibid. p. 41. 87. 140, 141. Dr. Faulkner's Christ. Loyalty, Vol. 2. C. 2.

Lastly, To have the *Legislative Power*, or, the Power that makes any Form of Words a Law. The *sovereign Power* may indeed be *limited* as to the Exercise of this Power, which may be confined to Bills, and Writings prepared by others, but still it is the *sovereign Authority*, who gives Life, and Soul to the *dead Letter* of them; and all Princes, or States which want this Authority, let their Names and Titles be never so great, are not *complete Sovereigns*, but *Subjects*, because upon this Supposition, they have not Power to make Laws to bind *others*, but others have Power to make Laws to bind *them*.

Now the Laws by which these, and other Essentials of *Sovereignty* are established, may be called *IMPERIAL Laws*, or the common Laws of *Sovereignty*; and Christianity, which destroys no Man's Natural, or Civil Rights, doth not destroy these essential Rights of *Sovereignty*, but confirms them unto the *LEGAL SOVEREIGN* in every Government, commanding his Subjects to observe them, and particularly the Imperial Law of *not resisting*, not only for *Wrath*, but for *Conscience sake*.

Wherefore, in Answer to the Question, By what Law we must die in *illegal Persecution*? I answer, by the *Imperial Laws* in every Government, and by the Laws of the *Gospel*, which (as I shall hereafter shew) establish these Laws. In all perfect Governments, and particularly in the *English*, all these Rights legally belong to the *Sovereign*, who is the King, especially, *to be accountable to none but GOD*, to have the sole Power and Disposal of the Sword, and to be free from all *coercive* and *vindicative Power*, and from *Resistance* by Force; It is by these common Laws of *Sovereignty*, that the Gospel requires *Passive Obedience*, which is but another Name for *Non-resistance*; these Laws are in eternal Force against the *Subjects* in Defence of the *Sovereign*, (e) be he Good, or Evil, Just or Unjust, *Christian*, or *Pagan*; be what he will, no Subject or (f) Number of Subjects can lift up his Hand against his *Sovereign*, and be guiltless by these Laws. (g) *Where there is no Law indeed, there is*

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(e) Sam. Boch. Ep. p. 61. (f) Ibid. p. 54. 55. (g) Ibid. p. 84.

no *Transgression*, but for the Subjects to bear the Sword against their *Sovereign*, or to defend themselves by Force against him, or his Forces, is against the common Laws of *Sovereignty*; and by consequence (b) *Passive Obedience* even unto Death, becomes a Duty in *sovereign Governments*, by virtue of those Laws.

By the Help of this Distinction between the *Imperial* Laws, which ascertain the Rights of the *Sovereign* and the *Political*, which are made to secure the Rights of the *Subject*, the heedful Reader may easily solve all that the Patrons of *Resistance* have written against *Passive Obedience*.

And now, I shall reduce the Strength and Force of what I have hitherto said, into these following Propositions.

1. Every Man, but more especially a *Christian*, is bound to submit to the Laws of the Government, under which he lives.

2. The Government consists in the *Imperial*, as well as the *Political* Laws.

3. The *Imperial* Laws of every Government forbid *resisting* the *Sovereign*, and by Consequence require *Non-resistance*.

4. *Non-resistance* is the same Thing with *Passive Obedience*, and by Consequence *Passive Obedience* is required by the *Imperial* Laws of every Government.

5. Whatsoever the *Imperial* Laws of any Government require of its Subjects, if it be not contrary to *God's* Laws, they are bound to perform it.

6. *Passive Obedience*, or patient suffering of Injuries from the *Sovereign*, is not forbid by *God's* Laws, and therefore Subjects are bound to perform it, where it is required by the *Imperial* Laws.

Thus, as I have shewed, there are Two Tables belonging to every perfect, and regular Government, one which concerns the *Majesty* of the *Sovereign*, *God's* Vicegerent, which I may call the *First Table*; and another which concerns the Good and Safety of the *People*, which may be called

(b) Sam. Boch. *ibid*, p. 86. 87.

called the *Second Table*; and these Two together are the compleat and adequate Rule of Civil Obedience and Subjection, and *Passive Obedience*, or the patient bearing of the greatest Injuries, when it is not a Duty by this, is very often so by that. When the Laws are against us, then it is our Duty by the *second Table*; and when the Sovereign is against us contrary to the Laws of the *second Table*, then it is our Duty by the Laws of the *first*, which absolutely forbid us to bear the Sword against him, or to repel his Forces by Force.

But to bring this general Discourse about the common Laws of *Sovereignty* to our own Case, I shall now proceed to shew, That the *English* Realm is a perfect *Sovereignty* or Empire, and that the King of *England*, by the *Imperial* Laws of it, is a compleat, imperial, and independent Sovereign, to whom the foresaid Rights of *Sovereignty* do inseparably belong.

The *English* Realm is a perfect *Sovereignty*, and (i) Empire, and the King a compleat, and imperial Sovereign. (k) Thus by the whole Parliament, 24. *Hen. 8. C. 12.* "It was resolved, and so declared, That by sundry authentick Histories, and Chronicles, it is manifestly declared and expressed, That this Realm of *England*, is an *Empire*, and so hath been accepted in the World, governed by one *supreme* Head, and King, having Dignity and Royal Estate of the Imperial Crown of the same." So 25. *Hen. 8. C. 21.* The Crown of this Kingdom is affirmed to be an *Imperial Crown*, in these Words: "In great Derogation of your Imperial Crown and Authority Royal." So 27. *Hen. 8. C. 24.* "Most ancient Prerogatives and Authorities appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this Realm." So 1. *Eliz. C. 2.* "Restoring and uniting to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, the ancient Jurisdiction, &c. So 1 *Jacob. Cap. 1.* "A more famous, and greater Union of Two Mighty, Famous, and Ancient Kingdoms under one Imperial Crown." And before the Conquest, King

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(l) *Edgar*

(i) Sir Orl. Bridgman's Speech to the Regicides, p. 12. 13.

(k) Cook's Instit. p. 4. c. 74.

(l) *Edgar* stiled himself in his Charter, *Basileus, Imperator, and Dominus*; and his Son *St. Edward*, in a Charter, which he made to the *ABBOT of Rainsey* (which my *Lork Cook* saith he had) stiled himself *Ego Edwardus totius Albionis, Dei moderante Gubernatione, Basileus*.

Thus much may serve to shew, That the Realm of *England* is a perfect *SOVEREIGNTY*, or *Empire*, and the King a compleat *Imperial Sovereign*: Where, for the Reader's Satisfaction, I must observe, That the Regal Estate is then *Imperial*, when the King is *Supreme* in his Dominions next under *GOD*, and hath full, perfect, and entire Jurisdiction from *GOD* alone, and all others within his Dominions, by Emanation from him. Now this Perfection and Fulness of *Imperial Power* which makes an *Imperial Sovereign*, is of Two Sorts, such as is *limited* by the Laws of *GOD* and Nature only; or such, as is *limited* by the Laws of *GOD* and Nature, and civil Laws and Pactions too. The Power in both Sorts of *Sovereigns* is *Imperial, i. e.* full, perfect, absolute and entire, but the Exercise of it is differently bounded and regulated, one by the Laws of *GOD* and Nature; and the other by humane positive Laws; and the latter *Limitation* doth no more destroy the Fulness, and Perfection, and Supremacy of the Power, than the former; because the *Sovereign*, who is under political *Limitations*, as to the Exercise of his Power, hath his Power nevertheless as absolutely, fully, and entirely in himself as he that is only under the *Limitation* of divine and natural Laws.

Thus the learned (m) Chancellor *Fortescue*, grants the King of *England* to have *Regal, or Imperial Power*, although it be under the Restraint and Regulation of the Power *Political*, as to the Exercise thereof. And as a Fountain, which hath Channels and Pipes made for it, within which its Waters are bounded in their Passage, and through which they are to flow: is nevertheless as perfect

(l) *Rot. Parl. 1. E. 4. Part 6. at large in Cook's Inst. Part 4. p. 359.*

(m) *De Laudibus Legum Anglia. C. 9. Rex Anglia---- principatu, nedum Regalised & Politico suo populo Dominatur, ---- Regnum sic institui ut lex non libere valeat populum Tyrannide gubernare, quod solum fit dum potestas Regia lege Politica cohibetur.*

perfect a Fountain, and hath its Waters as fully, and entirely within itself, as any other Fountain whose Waters flow from it at Liberty without any such Regulation: So a King, whose *Imperial Power* is limited by *Humane Constitutions* in the Exercise of it, is nevertheless as complete a Sovereign, and hath the sovereign Power as fully and entirely within himself, as he who is at Liberty to Exercise his Authority *as he will*.

To be *Arbitrary*, is no more of the Essence of an *Imperial Sovereign*, than to be *free* in the Course of its Waters is of the Essence of *Fountain*; but as the *Fountain* of an *Aqueduct*, for Example, is as perfect in its Kind, and generally more beneficial and useful to Mankind, than a *Free-flowing Spring*; so limited Sovereigns are as perfect and essential *Sovereigns*, as the purely *Arbitrary* or *Despotick*, and generally more beneficial, and salutary to the World.

All that I have hitherto said, may be better understood by distinguishing between the Being and Essence of *Imperial*, or *Sovereign Power*, and the Exercise and Emanation thereof. As to the Being and Essence of it, it is in as full Perfection in the *Limited* as in the *Arbitrary* Sovereign, though the Law confines and limits him in the Exercise thereof; but to be confined in the Exercise doth not destroy the *Being*, nor diminish the Perfection of *Sovereign Power*, and without any Contradiction, such a Power may be confined within Bounds, and limited in the actual Exercise thereof; and such Moderation, and Limitation of Power *Absolute* and *Imperial*, doth only qualify and temper, and not destroy the Essence thereof. And therefore Cook, in *Caudrey's Case*, saith, " That by
" the Ancient Laws of this Realm, *England* is an *absolute Empire* and Monarchy; and that the King is furnished with *Plenary* and *Entire Power*, *Prerogative*, and
" *Jurisdiction*, and is *Supreme Governour* over all Persons
" within this Realm. "

And if any Man will but attend well to his own Thoughts, he will find no Inconsistency between the Fullness of *Sovereign* or *Imperial Power*, in the Root and Essence of it, and a *Legal Limitation* of the Use and Exercise thereof.

thereof. And from hence it comes to pass, That the King of *England*, though he be *limited* in the Use and Exercise of his Power, yet he is as much the *Fountain* of all Power and Jurisdiction within his Dominions, as if he were *Arbitrary*; he hath none to share with him in the *Sovereignty*, but all Power and Authority is derived from him, like Light from the Sun; in him alone it is *Radically* and *Originally* placed; he hath no Sharers or Copartners in the *Sovereignty*; none *Co-ordinate* with him in the Government; no *Equal* nor *Superior*, but only *G O D*, to whom alone he is Subject. Hence, saith *Bracton* (n), who wrote in the Reign of *Henry III.* *Omnis quidem sub Rege, & ipse sub nullo, sed tantum sub Deo; non est inferior sibi Subjectis non parem habet in Regno suo.* And afterwards, *Ipse autem Rex non debet esse sub Homine, sed sub Deo.* And then, to shew that he is a *Sovereign* doubly limited in the Use of his Power, by the Laws of *G O D*, and the Civil Laws of his Kingdom, he adds, *Et sub Lege, quia Lex facit Regem.* In the same Place he calls him *Vicarius Dei*, and saith, *Vices gerit Jesu Christi*; and nothing greater could be said of *Cæsar*, or the most *Despotick* *Sovereign* that ever was

So the Statute of *Præmunire*, 26. R. 2. c. 5. declares, " That the Crown of *England* hath been so free at all Times, that it hath been in no Earthly Subjection, but immediately subject to God in all Things touching the Regality of the same Crown. " And in 25. H. 8. c. 21. The Parliament directing their Declaration to the King, enacted and declared, " That this your Grace's Realm recognizing no Superior under God, but only your *Grace*, hath been, and is free from Subjection, &c. " And in 24. H. 8. c. 12. after the Words before cited, it follows, " Unto whom a Body Politick — been bounden and owen to bear, next unto God, a Natural and Humble Obedience, he being instituted and furnished with plenary, whole, and entire Power, Preeminence and Authority, &c. " So 2. Edw. 6. c. 2. — " Seeing that all Authority of Jurisdiction, Spiritual and Temporal,

(n) Lib. 1. C. 8.

“poral, is derived and deducted from the King’s Majesty, as supreme Head of these Churches and Realms.— So in the Oath of Supremacy, 1. *Eliz.* “I *A. B.* do “utterly testify, and declare in my Conscience, That the “Queen’s Highness is the only supreme Governour of “this Realm.”

To all this I may add, the common Stile of both Houses of Parliament, *Our Gracious Sovereign*, and *Our Dread Sovereign Lord the KING*; which is also used in the old Oath of *Allegiance* mentioned in *Britton*, in Cap. 29. *De Tournes de Viscontes*, *You shall swear, That from this Day forward, you shall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord Edward.*

Hence by Common Law (o) many Prerogatives belong to the King by vertue of his *Sovereignty*. He cannot give any Man the Stile or Title of *Dominus*, because he himself is *Omnium subditorum supremus Dominus*. He can hold Land of no Man, because he can have no *Superior*; and if a Man formerly held Land of the King and of another Lord, whereby his Heir became a *Ward*, the King had the Custody of the Heir and Land, because, as *Glanvil* saith, *Lib. 7. c. 10. Dominus Rex nullum habere potest parem, multo minus superiorem.* The Reason is given by *Bracton* *L. 2. c. 27.* And as *Stanford* (p) shews in his *Exposition of the King’s Prerogative*, “By the Common Law there “lieth no Action, or Writ against the King, but when “he seifeth his Subject’s Lands, or Goods, having no “Title by Order of his Laws so to do, *Petition* is all the “Remedy the Subject hath, and this *Petition* is called, “*A Petition of Right.*”

Having now shewed, that the Realm of *England* is a *perfect Sovereignty*, or *Empire*, and the King a *Complete and Imperial Sovereign*, subject unto none but God; it must needs follow, that he hath all the *Essential Rights of Perfect Sovereignty* belonging unto him, as to be unaccountable to any *Humane Power*; to have the sole Right and Disposal of the *Sword*; to be free from all *Coercive and Vindicative Power*; to be irresistible and unopposeable,

or

(o) *Sheringham*, Kings Supremacy, C. 4. (p) *Stanford*, Cap. 22.

or not to have his Forces repelled by Force. It would be a Contradiction to call this an *Imperial Crown*, to acknowledge the King for *Supreme* over all Persons, to say he hath no Superior but God; that he is subject to Him alone, and that he is furnished with plenary and entire Power, unless he have all those Rights, which are involved in the very Notion of his *Imperial Sovereignty*, as I have explained it from the Statutes and Customs of this Realm.

For *First*, To say that he is the only supreme Governour within this Realm and Dominions, and subject to none but God, must needs imply that he is ἀναπευθυντός, or unaccountable for what he doth amiss to any Tribunal but that of Heaven, whose Vicegerent he is. If there were any Power in his Kingdoms that could call him to Account for Maladministration, for that very Reason he would not be a *Complete Sovereign*, but the Power to whom he was accountable would be *Superior*, and not he. It must also follow from his being instituted and furnished with plenary, whole, and entire Power and Jurisdiction, that he must be unaccountable; for from whom shall any Person, or State of Men, have Power and Authority to call his *Majesty* to an Account? All Power and Jurisdiction is derived and deducted from him as *supreme Head* of these Realms; and from whom then shall any Man, or State of Men, derive Authority of Judging or Trying him? It can be from none but himself: But to imagine that he will *subject Himself* to any *superior Jurisdiction*, is an apparent Absurdity in *Hypothesis*, and in *Thesi*. Such an Act would be void by its own Nature, if that be true which the (q) *Lords and Commons* declared in full Parliament in the Time of *Edward III.* That they could not assent to any Thing in Parliament, that tended to *Disinherison* of the King and his Crown. This Phrase of the *Disinherison of the King and the Crown*, in other (r) Acts of Parlia-

(q) Coke's Inst. Part. 4. Pag. 14. *Suprema Jurisdictio & potestas Regia, etsi princeps velit, separari non possunt, sunt enim ipsa forma & substantialis essentia Majestatis, ergo manente Rege ab eo abdicari non possunt.* Cavedo. Pract. Observ. p. 2, Decis. 40. N. 8. (r) Statute of Premunire. 16. R. 2. c. 5.

Parliament, is called, *The Destruction of the King's Sovereignty*, his *Crown*, his *Regality*, and *Things that tend thereunto*, Things that are openly against the King's *Crown*, in *Derogation* of his *Regality*. So that if an improvident King should consent to an Act so *Destructive* of his *Sovereignty*, it would be of no more Force, than an Act to make another King *Copartner* with him in the *supreme Power*, or an Act to pass over the *Realm* to a *Foreign Prince*.

But *Secondly*, To say that the King is the only *supreme Governour*, instituted and furnished with plenary, whole and entire Power and Jurisdiction, must needs imply, that he alone hath the Power of the *Sword*; for were the Power of the *Sword* in any else, he could not be furnished with plenary, whole, and entire Power. Besides, the *Civil Power* is insignificant without the *Military*, and therefore if the *Civil Power* were seated in him, and the *Military* in any other Person or State, the *English Realm* would have *Two Sovereigns*, one *Civil*, and another *Military*, which is most absurd to think. Therefore by the Common Laws of *Sovereignty*, the Power of the *Sword*, like all other Temporal Power, must be derived and deducted from him, as *supreme Head* and Governour of this *Realm*; and indeed his *Sovereignty* would be a vain empty insignificant Nothing, were the *Sceptre* in his Hand, and the *Sword* in any others. And therefore *Glanvill* in his *Prologue* before his *Traſtat. de Leg. & Conſult. Regn. Angliæ*, ſuppoſeth the Power of the *Sword* primarily neceſſary for the King. *Regiam Maieſtatem non ſolum Armis oportet eſſe decoratam, ſed & Legibus*; The King's Maieſty ought to be fortified not only with *Arms*, but with *Laws*; with *Arms* in the firſt Place, without which his *Laws* would be little worth. So ſaith *Flet. L. 1. C. 17. Habet Rex in manu ſua omnia Jura--- Et materiale Gladium qui pertinet ad Regni Gubernaculum*. So ſaith *Bracton* in the Beginning of his firſt Book, *In Rege qui recte regit, neceſſaria ſunt duo hæc, Arma videlicet & Leges, &c.* And if the *Sword* be originally in the King's Hand, and none can bear it without Authority derived from him, it muſt needs follow from hence, that he muſt be free from all Coercive
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and Vindicative Power, and that no Man can lawfully resist him, or his Forces, because no Man can lawfully bear the *Sword*, (except for private Defence) but by Commission from him, I would fain be resolved by the Patrons of *Resistance*, who can *Array* the People against their Sovereign and his Armies, or who hath Authority (for Example) to make a Captain, or as much as a Drummer of a Company, if there should fall out an hopeful Occasion of recovering some lost Bishop's Lands? All Commissions of that Nature would be unauthoritative; and therefore how a Man can either give, or receive such unauthoritative Commissions, or oppose, or resist the King and his Armies by vertue of them, without Sin, I desire the Whig Lawyers and Divines to resolve.

But because we live in an Age, wherein there are great Numbers of Disaffected and Deluded Persons, who are deaf to all Reason and Common Law, which is nothing but Common Reason, when it is urged in Defence of the Crown, I will now shew, that these Essential Rights of Sovereignty, which I have been discoursing of, are declared to belong to the Person of the King, by the expresse Statutes of this Realm.

First then, He is declared to be not accountable to his Subjects, or obnoxious to their Coercive Power, 12. Car. II. C. 30. " We your Majesty's said Dutiful and Loyal Subjects the Lords and Commons in Parliament assembled, beseech your most Excellent Majesty, that it may be declared, That by the Undoubted and Fundamental Laws of this Kingdom, neither the Peers of this Realm, nor the Commons, nor both together, in Parliament, or out of Parliament, nor the People Collectively or Representatively, nor any other Persons whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have any Coercive Power over the Persons of the Kings of this Realm. " By the 25. Edw. III. C. 2. " It is declared, without excepting any Manner of Cases, or Pretences to the contrary, That to levy War against our Lord the King, in his Realm, or be adherent to the King's Enemies in his Realm, giving them Aid, or Comfort in the Realm, or elsewhere, is *Treason*. "

And

And Coke (f) upon the Place, saith, " That this was
 " High Treason before by the Common Law ; for no
 " Subject can levy War within the Realm without Au-
 " thority from the King. If any levy War, (saith he)
 " to expulse Strangers, to deliver Men out of Prisons,
 " to remove Counsellors, or against any Statute, or to
 " any other End, pretending Reformation, of their own
 " Heads, without Warrant, this is Levying War against
 " the King, because they take upon them Royal Autho-
 " rity." (t) In the 7th Year of *Edw. I.* a Statute was
 made, wherein the King's Power over the *Militia* is ac-
 knowledged, and *Force of Armour* to belong to him. And
 saith (u) Judge *Jenkins*, " All Jurisdictions do, and of
 " Right ought to belong to the King ; all Commissions
 " to levy Men for War, are awarded by the King ; the
 " Power of War only belongs to the King ; it belongs
 " to the King to defend his People, and to provide Arms
 " and Force. " And to cut off all popular Pretences of
Defensive War, it is declared by 13. Car. II. C. 6. " That
 " the sole supreme Government, Command, and Disposi-
 " tion of the *Militia*, and of all Forces by Sea and
 " Land, and of all Forts, and Places of Strength, is,
 " and by the Laws of *England* ever was the undoubted
 " Right of his Majesty and his *Royal Predecessors*, and that
 " both, or either of the Houses of Parliament, cannot,
 " or ought to pretend to the same, nor can, nor Law-
 " fully may raise or levy any War *Offensive* or *Defensive*
 " against his Majesty, his Heirs, and Lawful Succes-
 " fors. "

Having shewed that *Passive Obedience* is required in all
 perfect and regular Governments by the Common Laws
 of *Sovereignty*, and more particularly in this Realm by the
Imperial Laws thereof ; I might proceed to enquire how
 far the Church, and Ancient Church-men have agreed
 with the Three Estates in this Particular ; but being un-
 willing to enlarge this Discourse beyond my designed Bre-
 vity, I shall only mention some Ecclesiastical Authorities,

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and

(f) 3. Inst. pag. 9. (t) *Sheringham's Kings Suprem. C. 3.* (u) *Jen-
 kins Rediv. p. 19.*

and refer the Reader to them for his further Satisfaction. I begin with the *Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man*, set forth by King Henry VIII. with the Advice of his *Reforming Clergy*, who were the Compilers of it, such as *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, *Redman*, &c. who on the Fifth Commandment write thus: "Subjects be bound not to withdraw their Fealty, Truth, Love, and Obedience towards their Prince, for any Cause whatsoever it be, &c." And afterwards they prove this out of *Rom. 13*. And upon the Sixth Command, "No Subjects may draw their Swords against their Prince for any Cause whatsoever it be.---- And altho' Princes, which be the Supreme Heads of their Realms, do otherwise than they ought to do; yet God hath assigned no Judges over them in this World, but will have the Judgment of them reserved to Himself, and will punish them when He seeth His Time.---- Also the *Book of Homilies*, in the second Part of the *Sermon of Obedience*; "Subjects are bound to obey them as God's Ministers, although they be *Evil*, &c." Afterwards it proves from the Example of *David*, "That we may not withstand, nor in anywise hurt (x) an Anointed King, which is God's Lieutenant, Vicegerent, and highest Minister, in that Country where he is King." Here we have *Line upon Line*, and *Precept upon Precept* for *Passive Obedience*: Here, we are taught, that we must suffer all sorts of Wrongs and Injuries from our Sovereign, without *Resistance* and withstanding of him; and in this Realm, I am sure the Sovereign cannot wrong or injure his Subjects, but contrary to the *Political Laws*. Hence you see that this is the standing Doctrine of the Church of *England*, to which all Orders of the Clergy have subscribed, and the Church of *England* long since calculated and fitted this Doctrine for the Use of a *Popish Successor*. I could produce much more to the same Purpose out of *Bishop Bilson*, in his Book of the *True Difference between Christian Subjection, and unchristian Rebellion*; written against the

(x) *Sam. Bochart* Ep. ad *D. Morley*, p. 80. See also the 2d Part of the *Hom.* against Disobedience, and wilful Rebellion.

the Papists in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, and printed 1586. Pag. 256, 260, 261, 278, 279. where he determines against *Resistance*, even in case of a *Massacre*, which is the Extremity of Tyranny: And it is agreeable not only to the Scripture, but to the Practice of the Primitive Christians, who, against Equity, Humanity, and the Common Law of all Civil Governments, endured many Tyrannical Massacres, when they were able to Resist. See also Bishop *Jewel*, in his *Defence of the Apology*, Pag. 15. Nay it was taught by the *Martyres* themselves in Queen *Mary's* Days; for *Bradford* in his Letter saith,--- *Howbeit never for any Thing resist or rise up against the Magistrates.* See also Bishop *Latimer* his Fourth Sermon before King *Edward VI.* See also Archbishop *Sandys* his Sermons. Dr. *Willet* upon *Rom. 13.* Dr. *Hakewel's Scutum Regium.* Dr. *Boys* his *Postills.* Dean *Nowel* on the Fifth Command. Dr. *Owen* in his *Antiparans.* Mr. *Perkins* on the Fifth Command. The little Book called, *Deus & Rex.* Bishop *Sanderson*, and other later Divines. Thus I think I have said enough to justify the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience.*

But that the Patrons of *Resistance* may know what a severe Censure they deserve for opposing this Evangelical Principle, I refer them to *Erasmus* in *Luc. 22. 36.* especially to these Words; “ *Mihi nulla Hæresis videtur perniciosior, nulla blasphemia sceleratior quam si quis Philistinorum exemplo Evangelici agri puteos qui a Christo venam habent aquæ vivæ scatentis in vitam æternam, Terra oppleta & sensum spirituales vertat in carnalem, Doctrinam cœlestem depravet in terrenam ac Sacro Sancta Christi dogmata detorqueat, imo corrumpat, idque reclamantibus omnibus ejus præceptis, reclamante tota ipsius vita, reclamante Doctrina Apostolica, refragantibus tot Martyrum Millibus, repugnantibus vetustis interpretibus.*

Having now shewed, how the common LAWS of SOVEREIGNTY, and more particularly the LAWS IMPERIAL of this Realm, and the Doctrine of the Church of England, do condemn all *Resistance*, and Force against the *Sovereign*; I think it will not be superfluous to my Design in this Under-

Undertaking, to weigh and consider a little further, the Reasons, which the Acts, and Authors above cited assign for this Doctrine ; and the most general and that which comprehends all the rest, is this, That the *Sovereign* hath neither *Superior*, nor *Equal* upon Earth, but is next unto *GOD*, whose Anointed and Vicegerent he is.

By the *Sovereign* must always be understood the real, and complete *Sovereign*, because there are many seeming *Sovereigns*, which are not really such. As for Example, The *Kings* of *Sparta* exercised the sovereign Power, but they were not real *Sovereigns*, because they were accountable for their Misgovernment to the *Ephori*. So in the Government of *Venice*, though there be but one *Duke*, yet because the *supreme Power* is not invested in him, but in the *Senate*, that State is not really *Monarchical*, but *Aristocratical*; and the *Duke* is not a *Real*, but only a *Titular*, or *Umbratical Sovereign*, the very Creature of the *Senate*, who is his Superior, and the true *Sovereign* next under *GOD*.

On the other Hand, in the *English* Government, though the *House of Commons* bears the Shew of a *Democracy*, and the *Peers* look like an *Aristocracy* among us, yet our Government is a perfect *Monarchy*, because the *supreme Power* is, (as I have proved) neither in the one, nor in the other, nor in both together, but solely in the Person of the *KING* ; but this Reason of not resisting the *Sovereign*, because he is *GOD's Vicegerent*, and only Subject to him, is a common Reason of *Passive Obedience* to all *SOVEREIGNS*, as well as unto *Kings*, and unto *Kings*, as well as to any other *SOVEREIGNS*.

The forecited Acts, and Authors, render no other Reason but this, which indeed is virtually many other Reasons ; For if the Government of Men, as well as of Angels be from *GOD*, then it must follow, *First*, That upon whomsoever *GOD* is understood to bestow the *sovereign Authority*, he must also be understood to bestow upon him all the *Jura Majestatis*, or Essential Rights, of *Sovereignty*, according to that Maxim, *Qui dat esse dat & omnia pertinentia ad esse* ; He that gives the Essence, gives

gives also the Properties belonging to the Essence. Wherefore as an Architect, who makes a Piece of Timber a Cube, or Sphere, gives it all the Properties of a Cube or a Sphere: So GOD when he makes any Man a *Sovereign*, he gives him all the Essential Rights of *Sovereignty*, one of which is to be free from *Resistance*, or forcible Repulse; for if any Man, or Number of Men under him, had lawful Power to take up defensive Arms, or use *defensive* force against the *Sovereign* and his Forces, he could not for this Reason be *Sovereign*, because he would be *Subject* unto a controulable Power. For according to this Supposition, his Subjects would have a Power of judging his Actions, whether they were just or injurious, lawful, or unlawful, and when they might make a *War defensive*, and when not, which is in Effect to destroy *Sovereignty*, and make the *Sovereign* Inferior to the *People*: And therefore to cut off all Pretences to Resistance in the *English* Government, the Three Estates, (as I have proved before) have declared against *Defensive*, as well as *Offensive* War, it being impossible for the *Sovereignty* to consist with the Liberty of that Pretence; just as among the *Romans* it was inconsistent with the *sovereign* unaccountable Power, which the Masters by Law had over the Slaves, for them to have a Liberty of rising up against them, under the Pretence of Self-defence.

In all *Sovereign* Governments Subjects must be Slaves as to this Particular; they must trust their Lives, and Liberties with their *Sovereign*; and therefore (y) *Grotius*, after (z) *St. August.* applies that Place in 1 *Pet.* 2. 19. which concerns the passive Behaviour of Servants unto their

(y) Quod dicitur subjectionem Dominis deberi etiam duris, idem quoque ad Reges referendum, nam quod sequitur ei fundamento superstructum, non minus *Subditorum*, quam servorum officium est, *De Jure Bell.* l. 1. c. 4. 6. (z) Quod autem dixi de Domino hoc intelligite de *Potestatibus & Regibus & omnibus culminibus hujus seculi*, aliquando enim potestates Bonæ sunt & timent Deum, aliquando non timent Deum. Julianus extitit Infidelis Imperator, nonne extitit Apostata Iniquus, Idololatra, Milites *CHRISTIANI* servierunt Imperatori Infideli, &c. in *Psal.* 124. Vide *Sam. Bochart.* Ep. 2. ad D. Morley; p. 77. 78, 79.

their Masters under the *Roman* Government, unto all Subjects: " Servants, be subject to your Masters with
 " all Fear, not only to the good and gentle, but also
 " to the froward; for this is thank-worthy or acceptable
 " to GOD: If a Man for Conscience sake towards GOD
 " endure Grief, suffering wrongfully. For what Glory
 " is it, if when ye are buffeted for your Faults, ye shall
 " take it patiently? But if when ye do well, and suffer
 " for it, this is acceptable with GOD. For even here-
 " unto were ye called, because Christ also suffered for
 " us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his
 " Steps. "

For real and complete *Sovereigns*, whether *Arbitrary* or *Limited*, can ly under nothing but moral Restraint and Obligations not to injure their Subjects, for if they were under the (a) *Coaction* of another Power, or under legal Perils, or Penalties, they could not be real, and complete *Sovereigns*: And therefore our old Lawyer *Bracton*, who so often declares the King to be next unto GOD, doth also declare, that when he acts illegally, not as GOD's Minister, but as the Minister of the Devil, as the Patrons of *Resistance* word it, yet he is not to be contraveened, or resisted. *Locus erit Supplicationi quod (Rex) factum suum corrigat, & emendet, quod quidem si non fecerit, satis sufficit ei ad pœnam, quod Dominum expectet ultorem. Nemo quidem de factis suis præsumat disputare, multo fortius contra factum suum venire, Lib. 2. C. 7.* If the Reader please to consult that Chapter, he will find by many Expressions that the King hath no other, but a *Moral Obligation* to observe the Laws. *Sic & beata Dei genitrix VIRGO MARIA, quæ singulari Privilegio supra legem fuit, pro ostendendo tamen humilitatis Exemplo Legalibus subdi non refugit institutis:* " But then if he will be a Tyrant, and act
 " illegally, it is sufficient for his Punishment, that he
 " hath GOD for his Avenger; for no Man must dispute
 " against what he doth, much less oppose or resist it.
 " The King is bound in Justice and Equity, and for
 " Example sake to observe his Laws; but if he will lay
 " aside

(a) Sir Ork. Bridgman's Speech to the Regicides, p. 13. 14.

“ aside all Conscience, and the Fear of God his only
 “ Superior, the Rights of Sovereignty secure the (b)
 “ Tyrant, as well as the good King, from Resistance,---
Si autem Princeps, vel Rex, vel alius qui superiorem non ha-
buerit, nisi Dominum, contra Ipsum non habebitur remedium
per assisam, immo tantum locus erit Supplicationi, ut factum
suum corrigat, & emendet, quod si non fecerit, sufficiet ei pro
pœna, quod Dominum expectet Ultorem. “ If it be the King
 “ or any other (Duke, &c.) who hath no Superior, but
 “ God, that shall (illegally disseize) there shall be no
 “ Remedy against him by Assize, only there shall be
 “ Place for Petition that he would correct, or amend,
 “ what he hath done Amiss; which if he refuse to do,
 “ it is sufficient for his Punishment, that he may expect
 “ God for his Avenger.

This Moral Obligation, which the *King* hath to ob-
 serve the Laws, is further increased by his *Coronation*
Oath, as *Bracton* observes, *Lib. 3. de Action. c. 9.* But then
 as in the *Oath of Allegiance* the people swear nothing to
 the *King* but what they are bound to perform unsworn:
 So the *King* in his *Coronation Oath* promises nothing to the
 People, but what in Justice and Equity he is bound to
 perform unsworn. *Ad hoc* (saith *Bracton*) *electus, & crea-*
tus est, ut Justitiam faciat universis, &c. and, *Separare*
autem debet Rex, cum sit Dei Vicarius, jus ab Injuria, æquum
ab Iniquo, &c. But then if he will pervert the great End,
 for which God made him *King*, if he will not act as be-
 comes *God's Vicar*, if he will obstruct, or pervert the
 Laws, and govern tyrannically, yet still there is left no
 Remedy to his Subjects by the Law, but Moral Persua-
 sion, for the *Laws Imperial* of this Realm have declared
 E him

(b) Nec prætereundum, quod Samuel jussus Israelitis Jus Regium
 edisserere, 1 Sam. 8. 9. Hoc (iniquit) est Juris Regii, qui regnabit super
 vos. Filios vestros tollet, & imponet Curribus suis, &c. Ait hæc esse
 Juris Regii, non quod coram Deo justa sint, nec enim David, Uria
 Uxorem; nec Achab, Nababo vineam eripere potuerunt sine crimine,
 sed quia hujusmodi scelera Reges tam impune perpetrant, quam si
 essent maxime licita, ideo additur populum, ita oppressum Deum
 imploraturum, quia contra vim Regis nulla sunt, *Humana Remedia*.
 Sam. Boch. Ep. p. 87.

him to be a (c) free, unconditional, and independent Sovereign, and exempted him from all Coaction and Force. Nay, to shew that the Kings of England were in this Respect as perfect Sovereigns, as the Cæsars, he applies unto them those memorable Sayings of *Valentinian the younger*, and *Alexander Severus*; (d) *It really is a greater Thing than the Empire, for the Prince to submit to the Laws.* And (e) *there is nothing more properly belongs to the Imperial Dignity, than that the Emperor should live according to Law.* To which if he pleased, he might have added that set down so often in the (f) Rescripts of *Severus*, and *Antoninus*; *Although we be loosed from the Laws, yet we live by the Laws.* Indeed our Kings differ from the Cæsars in this, that (as the same (g) *Bracton*, and (h) *Fortescue* long since observed,) That they are limited in the Exercise of their *Legislative Power*, not being able to make or repeal Laws without the Consent of the Three Estates. But still, if they will turn Tyrants, neither fearing God, nor the Censures of good Men, they are by the Law of the *English Empire*, as free from Punishment, Compulsion, or Resistance, as the Cæsars were.

But, *Secondly*, The foresaid general Reason of not resisting the Sovereign, because he is *God's Vicegerent*, doth imply that he hath all his Power from God.

This is very ancient Divinity, as appears from what *Daniel* said unto *Nebuchadnezzar*, *Dan. C. 2. 37.* "Thou, " O King, art a King of Kings, for the God of Heaven " hath given thee a Kingdom, Power, and Strength, " and Glory"; And from what he said to his Grandson *Belshazzar*, *Cap. 5. 18, 19.* " The most High God gave " *Nebuchadnezzar* thy Father a Kingdom, and Majesty, " and Glory, and Honour, and for the Majesty that he " gave

(c) Sir *Orl. Bridgman's* Speech to the Regicides, p. 12. 13, 14.
 (d) *Majus Imperio est submittere legibus.* *Bract.* lib. 3. de Act. c. 9. & lib. 4. c. de Leg. & Constitut. (e) *Nihil tam proprium est Imperii, quam Legibus vivere,* *ibid.* lib. 3. cap. de Test. (f) *Instit. quibus Modis Testam. infirm.* 8. *Secundum hoc, Divi Severus & Antoninus Sapissime rescripserunt, licet enim (inquiunt) legibus soluti sumus, attamen legibus vivimus.* (g) *Lib. 1. c. 2.* (h) *De laudibus legum Anglia.* c. 9.

“gave him, all People, Nations, and Languages
 “trembled, and feared before him: Whom he would
 “he slew, and whom he would he kept alive, whom he
 “would he set up, and whom he would he pulled
 “down.” Accordingly it is written of *Cyrus* the Heathen
 Emperor, *Isa.* 45. 1. “Thus saith the LORD to his
 “Anointed, to *Cyrus*, whose right Hand I have holden
 “to subdue Nations before him. And 2 *Chron.* 36. 23.
 “Thus saith *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, all the Kingdoms of
 “the Earth hath the LORD God given me. So *Prov.*
 8. 15, 16. “By me Kings Reign, and Princes decree
 “Justice; by me Princes rule, and Nobles, even all the
 “Judges of the Earth. And God declared by *Jeremy*,
Cap. 27. 5, 6. “I have made the Earth, and have given
 “it to whom it seemed meet unto me: and now I have
 “given all these Lands unto the Hand of King *Nebuchad-*
nezzar my *Servant*.”

Now, if according to these express Texts the *Sovereign*
 have all his Power from *God*, he must by Consequence
 have the Power of the *Sword* from him, as *St. Paul* very
 particularly observes, *He beareth not the Sword in vain, for*
he is the Minister of God. And if he have the Power of
 the *Sword* from him, it must needs follow, (i) That the
 People have no Right to bear it, neither for *Offence*, nor
Defence or *Resistance* without Commission from him. He
 may indeed abuse this as well as any other Branch of his
 Power; he may bear the *Sword* not for the *Defence*, but
 for the *Offence* and Destruction of his Subjects, but if he do
 they have no Authority to *resist* him, they cannot with-
 out sinful *Usurpation* oppose their *Swords* to his; as it was

E 2

written

(i) Præterea cum in regno, Gladii Jus nulli competat, præterquam
 Ipsi Regi, aut iis, quibus a Rege id concessum est, peto quo Jure
 quis audeat in summum animadvertere, utrum Jure concessio an
 usurpato, si concessio dixerit, rursus petam a quo concessio? Utrum a
 principe vel ab aliquo alio præter principem? Si a principe respondeat,
 hoc ipso erit ridiculus, quia non est Credibile principem ulli indul-
 gere Jus, Gladio in seipsum utendi-----quantamcunque in alium
 transferat princeps potestatem semper manet Superior. *Sam. Bochart*,
Ep. p. 90. 91.

written by the Apostle in the Time of a (k) wicked Tyrant, *He that resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* And how can a Man be guiltless that draws and uses his Sword without Authority from him to whom the *Jus Gladii* belongs? Much more if he useth it against him, who only hath the Authority of the Sword. This very Consideration made *Grotius* condemn all violent Defence against unjust Force from publick Authority, *Contra vim injustissimam sed publico nomine illatam.* De Imp. c. 3. n. 6.

Our blessed Saviour never intended to diminish, or destroy the Rights of Sovereignty, but on the contrary was very tender of them, commanding his Disciples to *render unto Cæsar the Things that were Cæsar's*, and this was said by him with Respect to *Tiberius*, who was a Man excessive in Cruelty, Drunkenness and Lust.

It was said indeed upon the Account of paying Tribute, but holds as well as to all the Rights of Sovereignty, and particularly as to this of being Master of the Sword; and therefore when *St. Peter* drew his Sword in his Master's Defence, against the Officers of the cruel *Sanhedrim*, he sharply rebuked him, saying, *Put up thy Sword, for he that useth the Sword shall perish by the Sword.* This very Text was ever understood by the Primitive Christians, as an absolute Prohibition to use any Violence against the Sovereign, and was applied by *Mauritius* the Commander of the *Theban* Legion, when he charged his Soldiers in *Christ's* Name, not to resist under the specious Pretence of Self Defence.

But in the Third Place, The general Reason assigned for not resisting the Sovereign, because he is God's *Vicegerent*, doth imply, That to resist him, is to resist God, who hath made him Sovereign, and set him above all Coercion and Force. If the Nature of Sovereignty, and of a Crown Impe-

(k) Jam nequis hæc dici putet de bonis duntaxat Regibus cogitandum est *Petrum*, & *Paulum* vel sub *Claudio*, vel sub *Nerone* Scripsisse, quorum ille vecors fuit, hic Monstrum hominis, quibus tamen Christianos jubent esse subditos, non solum Metu pœnæ, sed & ob Conscientiam, & propter Deum. Nec multo meliorem fuisse *Tiberium* cui *Christus* reddi voluit ea quæ erant *Cæsaris*. Ibid. p. 52.

Imperial, did not require that he should not be violently resisted, yet the Honour of God, whose Image and Substitute he is, would require the Subject not to do so, lest he should seem to resist God. "The King, (saith (l) *Agapetus* to *Justinian* the Emperor) in regard of the Nature of his Body is of the same Mould with every Man, but in respect of the Eminency of his Dignity, he is like unto God, who is Lord over all, whose Image he beareth, and by whom he holdeth that Power which he hath over Men." And (m) *Vigetus* saith, *That next after God the Emperor is to be honoured and loved, because he is a CORPOREAL GOD.*

A great many Testimonies to this Purpose are to be found in Christian Writers, to shew how the King is the Minister and Image of God, which you may see collected in Archbishop *Usher's* admirable Book, *Of the Power communicated by God to the Prince*, to which I refer the Reader.

Thus have I branched the general Reason for Non-resistance into Three, and every one of them is common to the Regulated or Limited, as well as the Arbitrary Sovereign; and I know not what can be replied to them, but either to deny that the Sovereign is God's Vicegerent, and doth not derive his Authority from Him; or else to assert, that Self-defence is enjoined by the Law of Nature. But to deny the former will be to deny the Bible, and contradict the Doctrine and Practice of the Primitive Christians, the Acts of Parliament, Book of Homilies, and the Liturgy, especially in the (n) Collect of the Communion-Service for the King; and before the latter be asserted, I desire the Patrons of Resistance to consult Dr. *Falkner's Christian Loyalty*; a Book which ought to be read by every English Subject.

The Gospel, upon no Account, allows of Resistance, and if it did, all Government would be unhing'd, by putting

(l) Cap. 21. (m) De re Mil. L. 2. C. 5. (n) Thy chosen Servant--- our King and Governour, that he knowing whose Minister he is--- and that we and all his Subjects duly considering whose Authority he hath.

putting the *Sword* into private Men's Hands. " This
 " Precept (saith (o) *Grotius*) of putting up the *Sword* be-
 " longeth to all Christians, who are called unto Punish-
 " ment upon the Account of Religion; for it is the Plea-
 " sure of God, when that Necessity lies upon us, that
 " we should testify our Patience, and commit our Souls
 " unto our Creator; and what can be more just than
 " that we should lay down our Lives for His Honour
 " from whom we received them? This *St. Peter* hath
 " taught us in his Master's Name, *Eph. i. C. 4. 16, 19.* "
 " And if it be once admitted (saith he) that pri-
 " vate Men, when they are injured by the Magistrate
 " may forcibly resist him, all Places would be full of
 " Tumults, and there would be no Force, or Authority of
 " Laws and Judicatures, because all Men are apt to fa-
 " vour themselves. Wherefore Reason compells us to
 " confess, that Oppression is to be endured, lest too much
 " Liberty follow upon the contrary; and the Examples
 " of the ancient Christians teach us, that any Violence is
 " to be endured which the *Supreme Power* lays upon us up-
 " on the Account of our Religion: For they are in a great
 " Error who think, that the Christians before the Time
 " of *Constantine*, abstained from *Resistance* because they
 " wanted sufficient Strength. "

And if they did not abstain for that Reason before the
 Time of *Constantine*, I appeal to the Patrons of *Resistance*,
 whether they did abstain for that Reason after his Time;
 and what Account they can give to God or Man, for
 flandering the Christian Subjects of (p) *Julian*, in say-
 ing they were not in a Condition to resist.

It was upon this Principle that the Prophets, and other
 Saints in great Numbers, patiently suffered under the
 Idolatrous Kings of *Israel*, who persecuted against Law.
 And in like Manner our Blessed Saviour, who had so
 great a Regard for Government, and for the Good of
 Man-

(o) In Matth. 26. 52. (p) Ita sub *Juliano* licet impio *Apostata* mere-
 bant *Christiani* *Milites*, nec quisquam illi vim fecit, quo nihil fuisset
 facilius cum fere totum *Exercitum*, ex *Christianis* constituisse in ejus
 morte apparuerit. *Sam. Bochart. Ep. P. 53.*

Mankind, for which Government was ordain'd, absolutely forbids Subjects to *resist* their *Sovereign*; and because He foresaw, that the *Pretence of Religion* would of all others be the most popular and specious, therefore took He such Care to have Himself propos'd for an Example of Patience and Suffering unto His Disciples, and to assure them, that if they *suffered with Him, they should also reign with Him*. Indeed there is some Inconvenience in the Doctrine of *Passive Obedience, or Non-resistance*, but it is an Inconvenience which cannot be prevented, unless we should remove the Centre upon which Government is fixed; and admit the Inconvenience of resisting the Sovereign, which would be (q) Ten Times worse than it. For if the former make a Land obnoxious, now and then, unto a Tyrant, the latter would make it perpetually obnoxious to the Rage and Fury of the deluded Rabble, who in Riots, Tumults, and Insurrections, (for which they would never want Pretences, were *Resistance* in any Case allowed) are able to do more Mischief in a Week, than ever any Tyrant yet did in a Year.

Indeed the Strokes of a Tyrant, like those of Thunder, make a great Noise, and all Places ring with it, and

(q) Cum probaverim hactenus summum Principem esse *αὐτονόμον*, & a solo Deo pendere, solum hoc addo pro Mantissa, quod si liceret in Regem ideo insurgere, quia malus est, & potestate sua abutitur, non tamen id expedire & populo esse consultius ut ab iis remediis abstineat, quæ plerumque morbo ipso pejora sunt, quibusque adeo vulnus exasperatur, potius quam sanatur. Ea mala toleranda sunt, quæ sine magna perniciæ non possunt emendari. ----- præstat unius hominis scelera esse impunita, quam innumeros insontes certo exitio exponere, quod ab illis fere fit, qui in reges quid moluntur. Neque enim expectandum est, ut citato Judicio se sistant, & plebeiorum instar unius aut alterius victoris imperio se submittant, quin copias conscribi oportet, & multorum sæpe præliorum alex subeundæ, antequam possint cogi in ordinem. Unde magna strages sequitur & provinciarum devastatio, quod Britannia vestra vel me tacente clamat. Itaque multo satius est Dei Judicio rem committere, & converti ad preces & lachrymas, quæ vera Christianorum arma sunt, quam ad ea Remedia confugere quæ sunt æquò violentiora. Sam. Boet. Ep. p. 140, 141.

and it puts the World in great Affright; but yet alone and *unresisted*, a Tyrant cannot spill so much Blood, especially in a Limited Empire, as would be shed by *Resistance* in a Defensive War; for the Rage of the worst of Tyrants generally wrecks itself upon particular Persons, or Parties of Men; but in Civil War, which is worse than any Tyranny, all must suffer without Distinction; and however it may be called *Defensive*, and at first be so designed, yet it will certainly degenerate into *Offensive*; and Rapine, Bloodshed, and Devastations, will be the ordinary Concomitants thereof. The Rebellion in King Charles I's Time, was called by the Raisers of it, and I believe verily intended by some of them, a War merely *Defensive*, but it soon proved *Offensive*; the Managers of it being forced in their own Defence to seek Advantages to set upon the King, as he did to set upon them. Indeed when the Defensive Party is very much the stronger, then the War, if the Defenders please, may be merely Defensive, but when the Party Offensive is as strong or stronger than they, then they cannot defend themselves without taking the Advantage of *Offence*. Besides, if we consider the Passions of Men set in military Opposition to one another, the Notion of a *Defensive War*, like some Notions in Geometry, though it may be true in the Theory, yet it will be impossible in the Practice; and therefore I cannot but admire the Wisdom, as well as the Goodness of God, in forbidding us to *Resist*, or defend ourselves by Force against the *Sovereign* and his Forces, because *Defence* doth so naturally degenerate into *Offence*.

Though *Tyranny* be *ill*, yet our blessed Saviour knew *Resistance* was *worse*, and therefore he hath commanded us to lay down our Lives for our Religion, but not to take up the *Sword* in Defence of it, contrary to the *Imperial Law*. For all that draw or use the *Sword* without Authority from the *Sovereign*, whose Right it is to bear it, he hath left obnoxious to the *Sword of Justice*, and to incur the Punishment of Death; *Put up thy Sword into his Place*, (saith he to St. Peter) *for all that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword*. Where let the Patrons of *Resistance*

ance talk never so much against a P---sh Successor, and let him have what Characters they please to give him; nay let them suppose him to be a complicate Tyrant, and, as Gregory saith of *Julian*, to be *Pharaoh*, *Achab*, *Jeroboam*, and *Nebuchadnezzar* all in one; nay let the Spirit of *Galerius*, *Maximus*, and *Maxentius* come upon him, yet I am sure it will cost fewer Lives, and less Desolation to let him alone, than to resist him; but if it would not, I had rather die a *Martyr* than a *Rebel*; I can comfort myself with the Hopes of a Reward for dying at a Stake, which they shall never have for dying in the Field. And whereas indeed a Rebel is worse than the worst Prince, and Rebellion worse than the worst Government of the worst Prince that hitherto hath been, both Rebels are unmeet Ministers, and Rebellion an unfit and unwholesome Medicine to reform any small Lacks in a Prince, or to cure any little Grief in a Government, such lewd Remedies being far worse than any other Maladies, and Disorders, that can be in the Body of a Commonwealth.

I appeal to the *Rebellion* against King *Charles I.* which the Rebels call'd a *Defensive War*, to verify this Doctrine; for there was more Blood shed in it, in one Battel, than in all the Tyrannies and Persecutions of the Nation since the Conquest; and in the Two Kingdoms there hath been more Christian Blood shed in *Rebellions* since the Reformation, by pretended Undertakers of *Defensive War*, than throughout the whole *Roman Empire* in Nine of the first Ten Famous Persecutions: Nay, let us imagine a P---sh Prince as bigotted in Religion, and as Sanguinary in his Temper as may be, now reigning over us, yet he could not likely cause so much Ruin, Bloodshed and Desolation in his whole Reign, as a *War* between him and his *Resisting Subjects* would cause in one Year. Wherefore it is plain, that it is the Interest even of the People themselves, that so great a Power should be in the *Sovereign*, that none should withstand him, or rise up against him; and that nothing can be more pernicious to the Commonwealth in any Government than that the Subjects should have a Power of taking up Arms to defend their Liberties and Religion.

All that I have hitherto said of *Passive Obedience*, hath been to satisfy the Reasons of the thinking and sober Part of Men; and now I proceed to propose some Considerations, which may serve as a sufficient Answer to that hasty Question, which timorous and suspicious Men are apt to make against this Doctrine, saying, *Where then is our Security? How can we be safe from the utmost Tyranny and Oppression of our Sovereign, if we may not be allowed to Resist?* To which I answer, That I have already shewn that the Remedy of *Resistance* is as bad, or worse than the Disease of *Tyranny and Persecution*. And I furthermore add, that upon Supposition there were some Cases allowed, wherein we might take up Defensive Arms against the Sovereign, what Security would the Sovereign have upon desisting from Tyranny and Persecution, that this Defensive Army would lay down their Arms? Might they not say that he was not to be trusted, having once broke his Coronation Oath, and that it was necessary for them to keep up in Arms to prevent a Second Persecution? Nay, might they not serve him, as the Army served our Blessed Sovereign King Charles, and if they went about to do so, who durst question them for what they did? Perhaps you will Reply, That another Army is to be raised to reduce this to their former Obedience: But how difficult would it be for an oppressed Prince and People to raise an Army against another Conquering Army; or if they did, what dismal Consequences, far worse than any Tyranny, would follow thereupon, besides the Ruins, and Devastations during the War, Slavery and Arbitrary Government would naturally be the Event of it: For if the first Army prevailed, then the injured Prince, as well as the People, whom they pretended to defend, must be subject to their Discretion. But if the King, and his new Army raised to reduce them, prevailed, what then will become of our Liberties and Religion, which the first Army rose up to Defend?

But perhaps you will object, That you would have this Defensive Army under the Conduct of *Sworn Trustees* for the People, that they should be disbanded, as soon

as they have reduced the Tyrannizing Prince. But who shall see that these *Sworn Trustees* shall perform their Trusts? How can you be secure they will not break their Oaths? Or if they be Faithful to their Trust, how can you be secure the Defensive Army will be disbanded by them? Remember what happened between *Cromwel's Army* and the *House*. But still you will object, That to prevent these Inconveniencies you would have the Government in more Hands than one, you would not have one Man only entrusted with it. Well, let it be so: Let us suppose that the *Three Estates in Parliament* were our Governours, yet I can object as strong against this: Either they will agree together, or disagree. If they agree, how can you be secure they will not divide the Land amongst them, and in a short Time govern us as *Arbitrarily* as the Senate of *Venice*, under which the People are really what we call *Slaves*. But if they disagree, as is most probable, having the Passions of Men, Ambition, Covetousness and Emulation, then their Government will become uncertain and odious, and the most popular amongst them will take an Opportunity to set up himself; and when he hath master'd his Companions, he must secure his Usurpation by Force, and then his *Pleasure* must be our *Law*.

All these Inconveniencies apparently threaten unhappy *Britain*, and that as a necessary Consequence of *King-killing* and *Deposing Doctrines*, which have prevailed so much amongst us of late.

In a Word, there neither is, nor can be any absolute Security either for the *Sovereign* against the *Subjects*, or for the *Subjects* against the *Sovereign* in any Government; And therefore in the Second Place, it may be a sufficient Answer to the former Question, to shew, That we have all the Security against the King that the King hath against us, even all the Security that any People in the World ever had, have, or ought to have.

For *First*, We have the Care and Providence of *GOD* for our Security, who is *King of Kings*, *Lord of Lords*, and the only Ruler of Princes: For as *Daniel* told *Nebuchadnezzar*, The most High ruled in the Kingdoms of Men, and giveth it to

whomsoever he will. The Welfare of the Publick is much more the Object of His Fatherly Care, than the Welfare of private Persons, and He delights to see the Nations of the Earth happy, and will not let them be afflicted and oppressed with *Tyrants*, but when *Tyranny* is necessary for their Punishment or Cure. But much more is He concerned for his own Family, I mean, for any Nation, whose People are Part of his *Household*, which is the *Catholick Church*. He delights to see them happy, and were it not for their Sins, He would always set such Princes over them, as would be *Nursing Fathers* to them and the Church. But when it is necessary for their Punishment, or Reformation, then He will suffer their Kings to turn *Tyrants*; and when He doth so, the People, like the People of *Israel*, must patiently suffer them, as they do other Judgments, and not rise up against them, lest they be found guilty of *Rebellion* against GOD.

On the other Hand, when a sinful People turn from those Sins, by which they provoke God, he will set just, and merciful, and valiant Princes over them, who shall *love* them and *protect* them as their own Children; and this He can do both Ways, either by taking away good or bad Princes, or by turning of their Hearts, for the *Hearts of Kings are in His Rule and Government*, and He doth dispose and *turn* them as seemeth best to His Divine Wisdom: According to what *Solomon* said, and perhaps upon his own Experience, *That the King's Heart is in the Hand of the Lord, as the Rivers of Waters, He turneth it whithersoever He will.*

Jealous and suspicious Men indeed may have a thousand Contrivances, and fancied Demonstrations to *prevent* or *remove* evil Princes; but when God shall see it fit to punish them that Way, he will in a Moment baffle, and defeat them all. And on the other Side, Princes may have a thousand Devices how to *oppress*, or *enslave* their People, but God whose Instruments they are, can in a Moment overturn them and their Devices, he can resist the Strength of the strongest *Leviathan*, as he said unto *Senacherib*; *I know thy Abode, and thy going out and thy coming in, and thy Rage against me. and because thy Rage,*
and

and thy Tumult is come unto mine Ears, therefore I will put my Hook in thy Nose, and my Bridle in thy Lips, and I will turn thee back by the Way in which thou camest. Wherefore as the Prince's best Security against the People is the watchful Providence of God: So the same watchful Providence is the Peoples best Security against the Prince. The same God who stilleth the Noise of the Waves, and the Tumult of the People in Defence of the King, doth likewise still the Thunder, and asswage the Fury of the King in Defence of the People, and neither could be safe one from the other, unless God did watch and preside, and as it were pitch his Tent between them both. Wherefore as it is the securest Way for a Prince to have peaceable, and obedient Subjects to serve God, whose Vicegerent he is: So on the other Hand, the best Security the People can have for their Property, and Liberty against the Prince, is to obey God, who setteth up one King, and pulleth down another, and changeth their Hearts as he sees fit.

The common Principles of Humanity, Justice and Equity are engraven by the Finger of God upon the Minds of Kings, as well as upon other Mens; and they cannot do Wrong to any particular Person, much less to great Numbers of their Subjects without undergoing the same uneasie Remorse, that other Men do when they injure one another. This hath been found by sad Experience in Pagan Princes, as in *Tiberius* the Emperor, who was so tormented with the Sense of his own Sins, that he could not but discover his own Confusion unto the Senate in a remarkable Letter, which began thus: (r)
 " My Lords, and Gentlemen, if I know what or how
 " to write, or not to write to you at this Time, let all
 " the Gods and Goddesses confound me with a worse
 " Death

(r) Quid scribam vobis. P. C. aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, dii me deaque pejus perdant quam perire. quotidie sentio, si scio. Adeo facinora atque flagitia sua ipsi quoque in supplicium verterant neque frustra præstantissimus sapientiæ affirmari solitus est, si recludantur mentes Tyrannorum posse aspici laniatus & ictus, quando ut corpora verberibus, ita sævitia, libidine, malis consultis animus dilaceretur. Quippe *Tiberium* non Fortuna, non solitudines protegebant, quin tormenta pectoris, suasque ipse pœnas fatetur. *Tacit. An. Lib. 6. C. 6.*

“ Death than by which I feel my self perishing every
 “ Day.” “ In such a Manner, *saieth the Historian*, did the
 “ Gods turn his Wickedness unto his own Punishment,
 “ so that what *Socrates* said is very true, That if the
 “ Breasts of Tyrants could be laid open, we should see
 “ what Flashes and Gashes they suffer from their own
 “ Consciences, and that the Body cannot suffer more
 “ from the *Whip*, than their Minds do from the Sense of
 “ their *Tyranny* and *Lust*.”

And if Conscience be a restraining Principle in *Heathen Princes*, if they cannot without such Soul Torments, pervert Justice and violate their Oaths, and the Laws, it must needs much more be a powerful Principle of Restraint upon *Christian Kings*, who are taught to know that they are *God's Ministers*, and that he will call them to a severe Account for oppressing his People, over whom *He set them*; nay that he most commonly sends remarkable Judgments upon them or their Families for subverting the *Laws*, and persecuting the *true Religion*. Shall the fear of God's Anger and Judgments more than any other Thing keep so many thousand *Subjects* from injuring their *Sovereign*, and shall not the fear of the same God and his Judgments keep the *Sovereign* from injuring of them? Or shall the *People* take warning by the the Judgments of God, which in all Ages have remarkably fallen upon *Rebels*, and shall not the *Sovereign* make as much use of the remarkable Judgments, which have fallen upon *Tyrants*? This Principle gives equal Security both ways, and therefore it may well pass for an Answer to the former Question, *That our Security consists in the Conscience of the Prince*.

But in the Third Place, as we have the *Prince's Conscience*, so we have his *Honour* for our Security. For *Princes* (like other Men) are tender of their *Honour* and good Name, and are powerfully restrained by *Shame* from doing evil to their *Subjects*. They are as loath as other Men to be exposed to the Censure of Mankind, or to be recorded for *Tyrants* in the Annals of Time. Though they may be desirous for their *Honour* to have the Times computed from their *Conquests*, yet the same Principle of *Honour*, will ordinarily make them ashamed to have them

them computed from their *Massacres and Persecutions*, which will but get them the Sirname of the *Bloody*, or the *Tyrant* unto the End of the World. Honour, as Moralists observe, is a Secondary, or *Civil Conscience*, and if so many Subjects will abstain from Rebellion merely to avoid the odious Character of a *Traitor*, why should we not presume, That a Prince will abstain from illegal Violence, especially against a great Number of his People to avoid the odious Name of *Tyrant*? How black do *Pharaoh*, *Ahab*, and *Jeroboam* look in the Scriptures, and *Nero*, *Domitian*, *Decius*, *Valerian*, *Maximian*, *Galerius*, *Maximin*, and *Julian* in the Ecclesiastical Historians? And a Prince that knows any Thing of History, must naturally abhor to be reckoned among such as these, whose very Names are detested by all Mankind.

This is all the Security, that most other People have, or ever had for their Rights and Properties against their *Princes*; but we, the Inhabitants of this *Island*, have a further Security from our *Laws*, to which every Man be he never so great, is obnoxious besides the Prince himself. For whosoever acts contrary to *Law* in this Realm to the Prejudice of any other Person, must be subject to make Reparation by *Law*, against which the *King* himself can protect no Man, as long as the Courts of Justice are kept open; so that there can be no *Tyranny* in *England*, but the utmost *Tyranny*, nor any *Persecution*, but a most exorbitant and *illegal Persecution*, which must presuppose, that Justice is obstructed, the *Laws* and *Lawyers* silenced, the Courts of Judicature shut up, and that the *King* governs altogether by *Arbitrary Power* and the *Sword*. But to suppose this, is plainly to suppose the utmost Possibility, which is next to an Impossibility, a Possibility indeed in Theory, but scarce to be reduced into Practice; for in such a violent Undertaking all good Men would withdraw from the Service, and Assistance of the *King*, and the bad durst not serve him, because if he died, or repented of his Undertaking, they must be answerable for all the Wrongs and Illegalities they were guilty of in his Service.

Indeed were our *Kings* Immortal, or would they not (like other Men) grow weary, and repent of their unjust Practices, then Men, who had no Religion, but their Interest, would willingly be Instruments of their *Tyranny*: But seeing they may Repent, and must die like other Men, no Man that would be safe, will venture to serve them against the *Law*, no rational Man will venture into such a Sea of Troubles, where there is no Haven. This Consideration would help very much to quiet the Minds of Men, would their Feats but let their Reason have its perfect Work. It would help them in a great Measure to see, that even a *P---sh Successor*, notwithstanding all the dismal Characters of him, would not be able, especially on the sudden, to outrage his *Pr-----t Subjects*; for as long as the Laws were open he could not hurt them, and to shut them up, and obstruct or pervert Justice, would for the former Reasons, prove an exceeding difficult, and almost impracticable Undertaking, because all his good Subjects, and all the bad too that tendered their own Safety, would desert him; nay, Foreigners upon this Account would make a Difficulty to serve him; because he could not protect them against his own Laws.

Wherefore a *P---sh Prince*, though he were never so Blood-thirsty, and had never so little Regard to *Humanity* and his *Coronation Oath*, would be infinitely puzzled to persecute his *Pr-----t Subjects*. he must be suppoled to obstruct Justice, and govern *Arbitrarily* by the *Sword*; which (as I have shewed) would be almost an Impossibility, because it would be so exceeding difficult for him to get sufficient Numbers of Men to assist him in such a Dangerous Attempt.

But as the talking of *Spirits* and *Goblins* do mightily Influence the Imagination of Children, and make them fancy them to be in the Room; so all this Noise of a *P---sh King*, and the presuming and supposing of what *Cruelties* he will do, makes the People take it for granted, that he is bigotted unto the worst Principles of *P---ry*, into a Bloody Persecuting Humor, so that he will do nothing but *Assassinate* his *Pr-----t Subjects*, were he once upon the Throne. But whoever thus represents him,

him, as they act contrary to all Rules of Candour, and Christian Charity : So they contradict the Belief of many as good *Pr-----ts* as themselves, who have the Honour to know him, and his Temper better than these sort of Men do ; and withall they do infinite Disservice to the *Pr-----t Religion*, whilst they dispose well-meaning People to such ill Practices, as (were they agreeable to their Principles) would give a *P---sh Prince* very just Occasion to entertain as bad Thoughts of *Pr-----t Subjects*, as they have of a *P---sh King*.

From the whole Matter, I may draw this Conclusion, That the inverting the Nature of the MONARCHY, and the interrupting the ROYAL LINE and SUCCESSION, has ever been accompanied in all Ages (as we in this Age find it to our sad Experience) with terrible Confusions, Convulsions, Blood, Ruin and Desolation ; which is a Remedy ten Times worse than the Disease, and we can never hope to see an End of it, so long as we design to support a crazy and unjust Settlement.

Having discoursed of the *Laws* by which *Passive Obedience* is due from the *Subjects* to the *Sovereign*, and also shewed the Reasons, into which those *Laws* are resolved ; and having also shewn for the further Satisfaction of the Reader, That notwithstanding the Doctrine of *Non-resistance*, the People of this Nation have all the Security against *Tyranny*, or illegal Oppression, that *Subjects* can, or ought to have : I think I cannot more profitably entertain the serious Reader in this last Sheet, than in setting before his Eyes a true Landskip of *Persecution*, which many late Writers have partially represented, with a Design to enrage the People, concealing from them one main Part, which ought to have been put in the Scheme of *Persecution*, to give them a true and just *Idea* thereof.

They have indeed most accurately painted the Jayles and Fetters, Dungeons, Gibbets and Flames, and all other Instruments of Torment to provoke them beyond the Measures of *Christian Patience* ; but they have said nothing of *Faith*, *Hope* and the *Love of GOD*, and of the *special Assistances* which he gives in *Times of Persecution* ;

because the Consideration of these Things would at the same Time have spoiled their Design, by quieting the Minds of their Readers, and qualifying their Fears, and letting them see that Persecution really was not so terrible and intollerable as they represented it to be.

Wherefore, as they have set forth the Tyranny of Persecution as *Greeks*, I shall now set it forth as a *Christian*, shewing from the Scriptures, and other Ecclesiastical Acts and Monuments of Persecution, that it is a Condition, which Christians may endure with Comfort, and Satisfaction, nay, in which they may delight, and rejoyce, if they look unto *Jesus*, the Author and Finisher of our Faith; who for the Joy that was set before him endured the Cross and despised the Shame of it, for which he is set down at the right Hand of God.

When the (a) *Apostles* were beaten by Order of the Sanhedrim, they departed from the Presence of the Council rejoycing that they were counted worthy to suffer for his Name: And when (b) *Paul and Silas* had been whipt with many Stripes, and were hurried upon it into the innermost Prison, and set in the Stocks there, they prayed, and sang Praises to God, doubtless for enabling them by the Assistance of his Holy Spirit to preach his Word with Boldness, and suffer patiently in his Cause.

How often doth *St. Paul* in his Epistles Glory in his Infirmities, which is a Scripture Term for Sufferings; and with what Pleasure doth he (c) speak of his Afflictions, Necessities, and Distresses, of his Stripes, Imprisonments, Labours, Tumults, Watchings, Fastings, Shipwreck, and daily Danger of Death. Then the Christians suffered after the Example of their Saviour according to the Will of God, who called them unto Suffering, committing their Souls unto him as unto a faithful Creator, and for (d) his Sake were they killed all the Day long, and were counted as Sheep for the Slaughter; in so much that in the Time of *Trajan*, *Tiberius* the President of *Palestine* gives this Account of their Passive Temper in his (e) Letter to the Emperor;

(a) A&t. C. 5. (b) A&t. C. 16. (c) 2 Cor. C. 6. C. 11. C. 12.
(d) Rom. 8. 36. (e) Uffel. ap. Ign. p. 9.

“ I am weary with punishing, and destroying the *Gallians*, who are called here *Christians*, according to your Majesties Command, and yet they cease not to discover themselves, that they may be slain. I have laboured both by Entreaties and Menaces, to make them conceal themselves from being known to be *Christians*, but I cannot make them put an End to their own Persecutions.”

And when *Arrius*, or *Aurelius Antoninus* Proconsul of *Asia*, raised a severe Persecution against the Christians, they presented themselves before him like an Army, at which he being astonished, contented himself to execute some few, and cried out unto the rest, “ O wretched Men, if you have a Mind to die, have you not Halts and Precipices enough, but must you come hither for an Execution?” This Story is told by *Tertullian* to *Scapula* President of *Carthage*, who also tells him, “ That if he had a Mind to go on with the Persecution, so many thousands of *Christian* Men, and Women of all Ages and Conditions would offer themselves unto him, that he would be hard put to it to get Fires and Swords enough to destroy them.”

Hitherto, and much longer they were so far from declining Sufferings, or being terrified into Tumultuous Combinations with those Miseries which they foresaw, that they freely offered themselves to the Fury of their Persecutors, and strove, as *Sulpitius Severus* observes, Lib. 2. C 47. of the *Dioclesian Persecution*, who should first enter the Lists of those Glorious Conflicts, being more ambitious of *Martyrdom* in those Days, than in After-time of *Bishopricks*, and the greatest Preferments of the Church.

I have chosen these out of many more Instances to shew the passive Temper of the primitive Christians in Times of Persecution, and to take Occasion to enquire into the true Causes, which made them, and our own Ancestors after their Example, so meek, calm and chearful in such sad Trials, and so ready to lay down their Lives for Christ.

Now in this Enquiry into the Causes of such wonderful Patience and Alacrity, we ought in the first Place to as-

sign a good Life, or a Conscience void of Offence towards God and towards Man. This is the Corner-stone in the Foundation of true Christian Confidence and Courage against the Fears of Death; for he whose Heart doth not condemn him, hath Confidence towards God, and need not fear him who can kill the Body, but is not able to kill the Soul, because he liveth in the Fear of Him, who is able to destroy both Body and Soul in Hell. Who is he that will harm you (saith the Apostle) if ye be Followers of that which is good, but if ye suffer for Righteousness sake happy are ye, and be not afraid of their Terror, neither be troubled. Hence (saith Justin Martyr) of Crescens the Stoick, who laid wait for his Life, as Anytus and Melitus did for that of Socrates, Crescens may kill me, but he cannot hurt me. And speaking of the Occasion of his Conversion to Christianity (f), "When I saw the Christians (saith he) embrace Death and Torments without Fear, I thought with myself that they could not live in Sin, and sensual Pleasure. For what Epicure, or incontinent Person that places his Happiness in pleasing the Flesh, would so readily embrace Death to deprive himself of his Felicity, but rather strive to live here for ever."

The Second Cause of such wonderful Patience and Courage in the Confessors and Martyres of the Christian Religion, was Faith, or their full and undoubted Persuasion of receiving those great Rewards, which the Gospel promised them, for suffering according to that Definition of the Apostle, which saith, That Faith consists in the Substance, or Confidence of Things hoped for, and in the Evidence of Things not seen. It was through this Faith, that the Jewish and primitive Christian Martyrs were tortured, not accepting of Deliverance, that they might have a better Resurrection, i. e. the Resurrection of the Just; that others of them had Trial of cruel Mockings and Scourgings, yea moreover of Bonds and Imprisonments; and that others also were Stoned, sawn asunder, empaled, and slain with the Sword; and lastly, that others, who took the Benefit of Flight, wandered about in Sheepskins and Goat-

skins

skins, and in Deserts, Mountains, in Dens and Caves of the Earth. It was this Faith which the Apostle compares to a Shield, and by which (he saith) the Just did live in Times of Persecution, and overcame the World, according to St. John, who saith, *This is the Victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith.* Hence saith the Apostle to the Hebrews, *Cast not away your Confidence which hath great Recompence of Reward;* in the full Persuasion of receiving whereof, he also said in his Second Epistle to Timothy, “ I have fought a good Fight, I have finished my Course, I have kept the Faith, henceforth there is laid up for me a Crown of Righteousness, which the Lord will give me at that Day. And for this Cause (saith he) we faint not, for though our outward Man perisheth, yet the inward Man is renewed Day by Day, for our light Affliction, which is but for a Moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal Weight of Glory, while we look not at the Things that are seen, but at the Things which are not seen, for the Things which are seen are Temporal, but the Things which are not seen are Eternal.”

From these Places it is plain, that the Faith of the primitive Christians was one main Cause of their Courage, which the Pagan Atheist (g) Lucian had learn'd of them, as appears from these Words; “ The miserable Wretches, (saith he) persuade those of their own Party, that they shall surely be Immortal, and live for ever, upon which Account they despise Death, and offer themselves voluntarily to it. And in Minutius Felix, Cecilianus objects it against the Christians as a Piece of Arrogance, *Quod Cælo & stellis interitum denunciant, sibi tamen ipsis æternitatem repromittunt;* “ That they denounced Destruction to Heaven and the Stars, but assured themselves of Eternal Life.” And again, “ They despise Torments that are present, and yet fear those that are future and uncertain; and while they fear to die after Death, in the mean Time they are not afraid to die.” It was a great Truth which the ignorant Pagan objected; for in this

(g) De Mort. Peregr. L. 2. P. 763.

this *Affurance of Faith*, they let themselves be led like *Sheep to the Slaughter*, quietly suffering all the Extremities of Death and Torments, which Men or Devils could bring upon them, without desiring to hurt, or seeking to revenge themselves upon those that injured them, as *Justin Martyr* often observes in his (h) *Dialogue with Trypho the Jew*. The Foresight and Joy of their heavenly Reward made them *endure the Cross, and despise the Shame of it*, because they knew, that if they *suffered with Him, they should also reign with Him*.

The (i) *Forty Christian Soldiers*, in the Time of *Licinius*, who were starved to Death in a Pond of Water in cold frosty Weather, comforted one another, as they stood together, by ballancing their present Sufferings with their future Hopes. "Is the Weather sharp, (said they) Paradise is comfortable and delightful. Is the Frost cold and bitter? the rest that remains is sweet and pleasant. Let us but hold out a little, and *Abraham's Bosom* will refresh us; we shall change this one Night for an *Eternal Age of Happiness*." And, "Blessed be God (saith Bishop *Ridley*, in his Letter to Mr. *Bradford*) with all our evil Reports, Grudgings, and Restraints; we are merry in God, of whom we look, and hope, after those temporal and momentary Miseries, to have eternal Joy, and perpetual Felicity, through *Jesus Christ our Lord*."

The *Third Principle*, into which the meek and passive Behaviour of former Christians is to be resolved, is the *Love of God* by which Faith (k) worketh, or is actuated to do or suffer any Thing for the Sake of Christ; so saith the Apostle, *Rom. 8. 35*. "Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ, shall Tribulation, or Distress, or Persecutions, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword, (as it is written, *For thy Sake are we killed all the Day long, we are counted as Sheep for the Slaughter*) nay in all these Things we are more than Conquerors, through him that loved us; for I am persuaded,

(b) P. 236, 323, 363.— (i) Dr. Cave's Prim. Christ. P. 2. Ch. 7, (k) Gal. 5. 6. 1 Thess. 5. 8.

“suaded, that neither (*fear of*) Death, nor (*hope of*)
 “Life, nor Angels of Satan, nor Princes, nor Potentates,
 “nor Sufferings *present*, nor Sufferings to come,) nor
 “Heights of *Preferment*, nor Depth of *Disgrace*, shall be
 “able to separate us from the Love of God, which is
 “in Jesus Christ our Lord.” So saith St. *John* most ex-
 “cellently to the same Purpose, 1 *Ep.* 4. “We have
 “known and believed the Love that God hath unto us,
 “for God is Love, and he that dwelleth in the Love of
 “God, dwelleth in God, and God in him. Herein con-
 “sists the Consummation or Perfection of our Love, that
 “we have Boldness, or Courage to confess Christ in the
 “Day of Trial, for there is no Fear in Love, but per-
 “fect Love casteth out Fear, because Fear is attended
 “with Torment and Anxiety; so that he who feareth
 “Dangers or Death, is not arrived to the Perfection of
 “Love.”

This great *Love of Christ* which enables us to suffer for
 him, is founded, as the same Apostle teacheth, upon the
 Consideration of his Love in dying for us; *We love him*,
 (saith he) *i. e.* we ought to love him, *because he first lo-*
ved us. And God commendeth his Love towards us (saith St.
Paul) in that while we were yet Sinners Christ died for us. After
 the Apostles themselves there never was a greater Ex-
 ample of this flagrant Love of Christ, than the holy Mar-
 tyr *Ignatius*, St. *John's* Disciple and Bishop of *Antioch*,
 who though he rejoyced heartily in the little Respite
 the Christians enjoy'd from Persecution, in the Time of
Nerva, upon the Church's Account; yet he (1) doubt-
 ed with himself, whether he had arrived to the perfect
 Love of God, and was a complete Disciple of Christ,
 because as yet he had not called him to Martyrdom. And
 therefore shortly after, when *Trajan* the Emperor com-
 manded the Soldiers to bind him in Chains, and carry
 him bound to *Rome* to be devoured in the *Amphitheater*,
 he (m) received the Sentence with Joy, and said, “O
 “Lord, I thank thee that thou hast made me perfect in
 “thy

(1) Dubitavit enim apud seipsum, &c. Mart. St. Ign. p. 2

(m) Ibid. p. 4.

“thy Love, and made me worthy with thy Apostle
 “*Paul* to be bound in Iron Chains.” Accordingly in
 his (n) Journey to *Rome*, and in his Epistle which he
 sent thither before his Arrival, he breathed nothing but
 the Perfection of Divine Love. “O, (saith he) that
 “I might come to those wild Beasts, which are prepa-
 “red for me, I will encourage them to devour me, if
 “they are afraid to touch me, as they have been to
 “touch others, nay, I will provoke them, if they will not
 “set upon me. You must pardon me, I know what is
 “for my Advantage; I am now indeed Christ’s Dis-
 “ciple, I am afraid of your Love, lest it be a Hinder-
 “ance to me, but let me be devoured by the Beasts. It is
 “better for me to die for Jesus Christ, than to be Em-
 “peror of all the World. Let Fire, and the Cross, and
 “the wild Beasts, let Dissections of my Flesh, pulling
 “in Pieces, and breaking of Bones, let Distortion of
 “Members, and bruising the whole Body, and all the
 “Torments which the Devil can invent come upon me,
 “so that I enjoy Jesus Christ.”

The *Fourth* Reason into which the *Meek*, and *passive*
Temper of the former Christians is to be resolved, is
Inspired Patience, and *Courage*, whereby God enabled
 them to bear their Torments in such a generous and
 gallant Manner, as without such Assistance they could
 not have done. “You (saith *Octavius* in *Minutius Felix*)
 “extol Men of *passive Courage* unto the Skies, as *Mutius*
 “*Scævola*, who had died obscurely among his Enemies,
 “but for the gallantry of his right Hand; but how
 “many of ours have suffered not only the burning of
 “their Hands, but of their whole Bodies without a
 “Shreek, when they might have been set free. But I
 “need not compare our Men with *Mutius*, *Aquilius*, and
 “*Regulus*, our very Women and Children by (o) inspired
 “Patience despise the Cross, the Rack, and the wild
 “Beasts, and all Manner of terrible Punishments.” To
 the same Purpose speaks (p) *Lactantius*; “When the
 “People

(n) Euseb. L. 3. C. 36. (o) Inspirata patientia illudunt. (p) L.
 5. C. 13. Nec ipsam patientiam sine Deo, cruciatus tantos posse
 superare-----Quia deest illis inspirata patientia.

“ People see men torn into Pieces with such Variety
 “ of Torments, and tire out their Executioners with unconquerable Patience, they guess what the real Truth
 “ is, that the Consent and Perseverance of so many dying
 “ Persons is not in vain, nor that any Patience, unless
 “ it were from God, could overcome such great Torments. Robbers, and Men of robust Bodies cannot
 “ endure such Tortures without shrieking, and sighing,
 “ because they have not inspired Patience, but our
 “ Women and Children conquer their Torturers, nor
 “ can the Fire so much as make them sigh.”

This is most exactly agreeable to what is taught in the Gospel, as in 1 John 4. 4. *You are of God, saith the Apostle, and have overcome them, because stronger is he, that is in you, than he that is in the World.* So saith (q) St. Cyprian to the Martyrs and Confessors, “ That Christ fights, and conquers in his Servants, that he is present at their Conflicts, and upholds, strengthens, and supports them.” This made the Apostle St. Paul, speaking of his Sufferings, say, *I can do all Things through Christ, who strengtheneth me.* And when all Men forsook him at his first Hearing, he said, *That the Lord stood with him, and strengthened him,* 2 Tim. 4. 16. So in Col. 1. 11. he prays, *That they might be strengthened with all Might, according to his glorious Power, unto all Patience and Longsuffering with Joyfulness.* And in his Epistle to the Philippians, saith he, *To you it is given in the Behalf of Christ, not only to believe, but suffer for his sake.*

Accordingly I find our Glorious Predecessors and Martyrs in Queen Mary's Days, making most grateful Acknowledgment of the Divine Courage and Assistance which they received from Christ. “ Jesus Christ, saith Bishop Ridley to the dispersed Brethren, hath given unto you a Manly Courage, and hath so strengthened you, in the Innerman, by the Power of his Spirit, that you can contemn all the Flatterers of the World.” And so in his Answer to Mr. Grindal, “ As the Weight of his Cross hath increased upon us, so he hath not, nor doth

H

“ not

“not cease to multiply his Mercies to strengthen us.” And to Mr. *Bradford*, “Blessed be God, who is the Giver of all Strength and Stomach in Time of Adversity.” And in another Letter to him, “The Spirit bringeth in him, (Dr. *Taylor*) in you, and in your Company, such blessed Fruits of Boldness, of Patience, and Constancy in the Lord’s Cause.” In another—“Thanksgiving unto God for his manifold Gifts of Grace, whereby it is manifest that God did assist you mightily.” And in his Letter to *Aug. Bernher*, “I trust to God it shall please him of his Goodness, to strengthen me to make up the (r) Trinity out of *Paul’s* Church to suffer for Christ.” So Bishop *Hooper* to certain of his beloved Friends, “In the Name, and in the Strength, Vertue and Power of his holy Spirit, prepare yourselves in any Case to Adversity and Constancy.”

Much more to this Purpose may be collected out of the Book of *Martyrs*, and the *Martyrs* Letters, to shew how powerfully and visibly Christ assists all those whom he calls to Sufferings, as *St. Peter* most emphatically sets it out in those Words, *If ye are reproached for the Name of Christ happy are ye, for the Spirit of Glory and of God resteth upon you*; implying, that the Spirit of God rested upon *Martyrs* and Confessors, as the *Glory* used to do upon the Temple, so that it might be seen by all the People; according to what *Eusebius* saith of the *Martyrs* in the *Dioclesian Persecution*, *Then, saith he, we beheld the most admirable Forwardness, and (s) Divine Power, and Alacrity of those, who professed Christ*. Hence he ordinarily ascribes their Courage and Boldness, Patience and Constancy to *Divine Inspiration*; as in the Martyrdom of *Apphianus*, of whom he speaks as of a Champion assisted with the (t) Spirit of God, and acted by a Divine Power, without which it is impossible to solve, or give any satisfactory Account of the Gallantry of many of our *English Martyrs* in the Time of *Henry VIII.* and *Queen Mary*, who were as valiant Soldiers of Christ, as ever suffered for his

(r) *Rogers* and *Grindal* were the other two. (s) L. 8. C. 3.
 (t) De Mart. Pal. C. 4.

his holy Name. How could *Nicholas Peke*, for Example, defy those who tempted him to recant, while he was burning in the Fire, unless he had been specially assisted by God. How could *Dr. Taylor* have leaped and danced for Joy when he drew near the Place of Execution, and kissed the Stake after he had pray'd, unless God had inspired him with Courage. Or how could Archbishop *Crammer*, without the special Assistance of God, endure the burning of his Right Hand, which he held unmoveable in the Flame, before his Body was touched. Or, which is yet more wonderful, how could *Rose Allen*, a poor Servant-Maid, without the wonderful Grace of God, endure the burning of her Hand until the Sinews shrank, without the least Complaint, thanking God for it, and bidding the Tyrant who held her Hand over the Candle, if he pleased to burn her Feet, and her Head also. Afterwards this *English Blandina* sang for Joy at her Execution: And in general, so wonderful was the Courage and Patience of our *Martyred Ancestors*, that the Papists ascribed it to the Devil, as *Julian* the Apostate did that of the Primitive Christians to *Evil Spirits*, thereby confessing that it was supernatural, and above the ordinary Strength of Man.

And to this Divine Grace of *inspired Courage* and *Patience*, I may also add the wonderful Work of God, in rebating, or taking away the Sense of Pain from his holy Martyrs in the Time of their Execution, according to what *Eusebius* writes, speaking of the Courage with which *Romanus* the Martyr bore the cutting out of his Tongue; (u) "He declared, saith he, by his Behaviour, that there is always a Divine Power present with those, who suffer Torments for the true Religion, which lessens their Pains, and strengthens their Courage." And so in the Martyrdom of (x) *Blandina*, he tells us, "She was plied with a Succession of fresh Torturers, and Tortures, from Morning to Night, to the Astonishment of her Tormenters, till her whole Body was shattered, and mangled into Pieces; and

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" during

(u) De Martyr. Palest. C. 2. (x) Eccl. Hist. L. 5. C. 1.

“ during the Time of her Execution she enjoy’d sensible
 “ Intermiſſions of Refreshment, in which ſhe was not ſen-
 “ ſible of what was done unto her; and this happened as
 “ oft as ſhe repeated the Words of Confefſion, *I am a*
 “ *Chriſtian, and there is no Evil done among us.*

So when (y) *Theodorus* was tortured from Morning till Night by fresh Tormenters, at the Command of *Julian*, he declared to thoſe, who asked him if he were ſenſible of what was done unto him, That in the Beginning he felt a little Pain, but afterwards a beautiful Youth appeared to him, who ſtood by him, and with a ſoft and cool Handkerchief wiped the Sweat off his Face, which ſo delighted him, that he wiſhed he had ſtill continued under the Hands of the Executioners.

Thus in our *Martyrologies* (z), *Thomas Tomkins* the *Engliſh Scævola*, whoſe Hand was held by *Bonner* over a Wax Candle with Four Wicks, declared afterwards to *James Hinſe*, That his Spirit was ſo wrapt up, while his Hand was burning, that he felt no Pain. And (a) *Mr. Farrar* told a young Gentleman who lamented the Painfulneſs of the Death he was to ſuffer, That if he ſaw him once ſtir in the Flames he ſhould give no Credit to his Doctrine: As he foretold (doubtleſs by Divine Impulſe) ſo he patiently ſtood in the Fire, till he was knocked down with a Staff. Thus likewise (b) *Thomas Haukes*, who had promiſed to give his Friends a Sign in the Miſt of the Fire, if the Pains of Burning were ſo tolerable, that a Man might patiently and quietly endure them; after a long and patient Continuance in the Flames, when his Skin was ſhrunk up, and his Fingers conſumed with Fire, at laſt he reached up his Hands, burning on a light Fire, and with great Appearance of Rejoycing, clapped them thrice together. So *James Baynham*, while he was burning at the Stake, and his Arms and Legs half conſumed, he ſaid, “ Behold, O ye Papiſts, ye look for Miracles, and
 “ here now ye may ſee one, for in this Fire I feel no more
 “ Pain, than if I were in a Bed of Down, but it is to me
 “ as

(y) *Theod. l. 3. c. 16.* (z) *Fox's Acts and Monum. An. 1555*
 P. 1711. (a) *Ib. P. 1714.* (b) *Ib. P. 1767.*

"as sweet as a Bed of Roses." We read of others who sang Psalms in the Flames, as of Mr. John Denly, at whom Story commanded the Tormenters to throw a Fagot, which when he had done, he told him scoffingly, that he had *marred a good old Song*. And of Thomas Spicer, John Denmy, and Edmond Pool; who praised God with such an audible Voice in the Fire, as astonished those that stood by.

Now all these Things, as the Apostle saith, *happen unto them for our Example, and were written for our Consolation*, if ever we should be called to suffer as they were. We cannot likely meet with more cruel Usage from the merciless Papists, than they found at their Hands; and if we do, we shall be sure, if we be not wanting to ourselves, to receive the same Gracious Aids and Assistances from God, in all our Spiritual Combats, that they, and the Primitive Christians did. There can no Trial or Temptation take us, but such as is common to Christian Men, and hath happened to them before us, and God is still Faithful, and will not suffer us at any Time to be tempted beyond what we can endure, but will certainly with the Temptation, be it never so great, find out a Way for us, that we may be able to bear it. And if God be for us, as the Apostle speaks, *who can be against us?* And if he spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not together with him also truly give us all these Things? The Resistance-Men may laugh and scoff at this passive Divinity as they please; but for my own Part, I am no more concerned for a Popish Persecution, than for other common Calamities which happen to good Men; nor shall the Fear of it, by God's Grace, ever transport me beyond the Bounds of Christian Decency and Moderation, much less make me advance such wicked Principles as these Men do, which indeed would make me afraid to die even for my Religion, 'till I had renounced them, and begg'd the Pardon of God and Man.

I trust in God he will assuredly give us suffering Spirits, if he call us to suffering Times; let us therefore possess our Souls in Patience, and endeavour to prevent it by constant and hearty Prayer to God, and forsaking those sinful Courses

Courses, for which, perhaps, the Eye of infinite Wisdom sees, that Persecution will be the most effectual Cure. This is the Design that I have had, in drawing this new and complete Landskip of Persecution.

In the mean time, be the Event of Things what it will, let us wait the good Pleasure of God, and carefully endeavour (as our Safety obligeth us) to prepare ourselves for Persecution, according to the Principles which I have here laid down, and the Godly Admonition of that Famous Martyr Mr. *John Bradford*, which he wrote in the *New Testament* of one of his Friends.

“ This Book is called *Sermo Crucis*, The Word of the
 “ Cross; because the Cross doth always accompany it:
 “ So that if you will be a Student hereof, you must needs
 “ prepare your self for the *Cross*, which you began to
 “ learn before you learned your Alphabet: And Christ
 “ requireth it of every one that will be his Disciple, there-
 “ in not swerving from the common Trade of Callings
 “ and Vocations; for no Profession, or kind of Life want-
 “ eth his *Cross*. So that they are far overseen, which
 “ think, that the Profession of the Gospel, which the
 “ Devil most envieth, the World most hateth, and the
 “ Flesh most repineth at, can be without a *Cross*. Let
 “ us therefore pray, that God would enable us to take
 “ up our *Cross* by *denying ourselves*. Amen.

E Carcere, 18.

February, 1555.

JOHN BRADFORD.

Some REMARKS *upon* the ENGLISH
CONSTITUTION, as an APPENDIX to the
foregoing TREATISE, wherein Occasion is taken
to answer the chief Reasons alledged by the Whigs
for excluding the next Heir of the Crown from
His Right of Succession.

FROM the preceeding Treatise, we plainly see what is the
Lex Legum, or Great standing Law of this Inheritable King-
dom, viz. That nothing is to be consented to in Parliament, which
tends to the *Disinherison* of the Crown, whereunto they are sworn.
This is the great Rule by which all Acts of Parliament are to be
framed, and if any of them transgress it, they are as null and void
from the Beginning, as Marriage with a Person, who hath a natural
Impediment or Imperfection.

By this Supreme and Inviolable Law, an Act of Parliament for
Dissolving the Monarchy, or for *Debarring* the King of the Service of
his Subjects, or for *Giving* the Crown unto a Foreigner, or for making
it *Homageable* to a Superior Power, or for *Dividing* the Monarchy into
Copartnership unto two Heirs, or for *Excluding* the whole Royal
Family would all be null and void from the Beginning.

I know not what can be replied to this, but either to say, That
an Act of Parliament, which tends to the *Disinherison* of the Crown is
nevertheless valid, or that an Act of *Exclusion* hath no Tendency
thereunto; To assert the former would be a Contradiction to the
most eminent Lawyers Ancient and Modern, and many Declarations
in Parliament, and would also suppose, that an Act for destroying
the Monarchy it self, &c. would be valid. And to assert the latter,
is virtually to say, That an Act for *Disinheriting* the next Heir, doth
not tend to the *Disinherison* of the Crown; which will be difficult to
maintain, because the same Power that puts by one Heir, may put
by ten, either altogether, or successively, and so adieu to the
Royal Family, and the Hereditary Succession, which may be laid aside
in Part or in Whole, when the King and Parliament shall please.
But to return to this Fundamental Law of the Monarchy, which seems
to invalidate all Acts of Parliament that tend to the *Disinherison*, or
Destruction of the Crown, and particularly all those, which limite, and
bind the Succession. It was by this Law that the (a) Acts of Parliament
which

(a) 35 Hen. VIII. Ch. 1. 1 Eliz. Ch. p. 3.

which impowered King *Henry* the VIII. to dispose of the Crown by his last Will and Testament to what Person, or Persons who ever he pleased, proved ineffectual to the House of *Suffolk* to which he bequeathed it, after the Death of Queen *Elisabeth*; which made a Gentleman, put this Dilemma in the House of Commons which never yet was satisfactorily answered. Either the Statutes of King *Henry* VIII. about Succession were Obligatory, and Valid, or they were not: If not, then Acts of Parliament, which Impeach the Succession, are without any more ado, null and Void in Law; but if they were, by what Authority was the House of *Suffolk* excluded and King *James* admitted to the Crown, contrary to many Statutes against him? Notwithstanding all which the (a) High Court of Parliament declared, "That the IMPERIAL CROWN of this Realm did by Inherent Birth-right, and Lawfull and undoubted Succession, descend unto his Majesty as being lineally, Justly, and lawfully next, and Sole Heir of the Royal Blood." Here his Succession is owned for lawfull, and undoubted, against the foresaid Acts; Lawfull, not by any Statute, but contrary to Statutes, by the Common Law of this Hereditary Kingdom, which seems to reject all Limitations and Exclusions, as tending to the Disinheritance and prejudice of the Crown.

An Act Disinheriting the next Heir, changes the Essence of the Monarchy and makes the Crown Elective, for by the same Reason, that one Parliament may disinherit one Prince for his Religion, other Parliaments may disinherit another upon other Pretences, and consequently Elect whom they please.

The next Reason which seems to make any such Act unlawful, is the Oath of Supremacy, which most of the Kings Subjects are called to take upon one Occasion, or other, and which the Representatives of the Commons of England are bound by Law, to take before they can sit in the House.

By this Oath every one swears "to assist and defend all Jurisdctions, Priviledges, Preheminencies, and Authorities, granted or belonging to the Kings Highness, his Heirs, and lawful Successors, or united, and annexed to the Imperial Crown of this Realm," I appeal to every Honest, and Loyal English Man, whether it be not one of the most undoubted, Transcendent and Essential Rights, Priviledges, and Pertinents belonging to the Kings Heirs, and united to the Imperial Crown of England, that they succeed unto the Crown, as it comes to their Turn, according to Proximity of Blood. Secondly, I desire to know whether by Lawfull Successors, is not to be understood, such Heirs as succeed according to the Common Rules of Hereditary Succession, settled by the common Law of England, and if so, how any Man, who is within the Obligation of this Oath, could honestly consent to a Bill, which deprives the next Heir, (and in him virtually the whole Royal Family) of the chief Priviledge, and Preheminence which belongs unto him, by the Common Law of this Realm; or how any Man who had taken this Oath,

which

(a) 1. Jacob I.

which is so apparently designed for the Preservation of the Rights and Privileges of the Royal Family, could deny Faith and true Allegiance to the next Heir from the Moment of his Predecessor's Death, according to the common Right of *Hereditary Succession*, which by Common Law belongs unto him, and is annexed to the Crown? Whatsoever Oath is made for the Behoof and Interest of the Kings Heirs and Lawful Successors in general, must needs be made for the Behoof and Interest of every one of them; But the *Oath of Supremacy* so made for the Behoof and Interest of the King's Heirs, is apparently in general to secure the Succession unto them; and therefore is undoubtedly made to secure the Succession to every one of them, according to the Common Order of *Hereditary Succession*, when it shall come to their Turn to succeed.

Some will say that the *Oath of Supremacy* is a *Protestant Oath*, and so could not be understood in a sense destructive of the *Protestant Religion*, which is a meer Shift, and proves nothing, because it proves too much. For according to this Answer we might dispense with our Sworn Faith and *Allegiance* to a *Popish King*, if any should hereafter turn such, because the Oaths of *Allegiance* and *Supremacy*, are *Protestant Oaths*, and are not to be understood, according to them, in a Sense destructive to the *Protestant Religion*.

Secondly, Though they are *Protestant Oaths*, yet they respect not the King and his Heirs as *Protestants*, but as *Lawful and Rightful King, and Heirs*, according to the Imperial Law of this *Hereditary Kingdom*; and therefore Moderate Papist's will take the *Oath of Supremacy*, as well as of *Allegiance*, (as indeed it was for Substance taken in the Time of (a) *Henry the VIII.*) which they could not do, were they made to the King and his Heirs as *Protestants*.

But Thirdly as they are *Protestant Oaths*, they bind us the more Emphatically to assist and defend the King against the Usurpation of the *Pope*, who pretends to a Power of deposing Kings, and of Excluding *Hereditary Princes* from the Succession (Witness *Henry IV.*) and therefore as all good *Protestants* are bound by these Promissory Oaths, to maintain the King in the Throne, so are they bound to maintain and defend their Heirs, and Successors, when their Rights shall fall.

I have joined the *Oath of Allegiance* with the other of *Supremacy*, because in it we also swear, to bear Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Heirs and Successors, and him and them to defend to the utmost of our Power; and I appeal to the Conscience of every honest *Protestant*, if the Words *Heirs and Successors*, are not to be understood for such as hereafter were to be Kings by the ordinary Course of *Hereditary Succession*.

Some again maintain, That the King and Three Estates in Parliament had a Power to Discharge the People of this Part of their Oath, Of bearing Faith and true Allegiance to the King's Heirs and lawful Successors; but this seems contrary to the following Clause of the Oath

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of

(a) 35. Hen. VIII. Ch. I. § 2.

of *Allegiance*, (which is also to be understood in the other of *Supremacy*.) " I do believe, and in my Conscience am resolved, that " neither the Pope, nor any other Person whatsoever, hath Power " to absolve me of this Oath, or any Part thereof. " And I appeal even to those that make the Objection, whether a Man can be absolved from a promissory Oath by any Power upon Earth, but by the Person or Persons to whom, and for whose Behoof it was made.

To assert, That the King, by the Consent of the Parliament can absolve a Man from the binding Force of an Oath which he hath made for the Interest of a Third Person, is to give him what his Justice would abhor, a *Papal Authority* over the Consciences of Men; which Consideration, as well as the *Popish Practice* of *Exclusion*, made a certain Great Man say in the House of Commons, " For my Part, I think there is more of *Popery* in this Bill, than " there can possibly be in the Nation without it; for none but *Papists*, and *Fifth-monarchy-men*, did ever go about to *disinberit* " Princes for their Religion. " But some again will say, Why should not *Protestants Disinberit Popish*, as well as *Popish Disinberit Protestant* Princes? To which the Answer is easy by another Question, Why should not *Protestants Depose Popish*, as well as *Papists* have *Deposed Protestant* Kings?

A Third Reason against an Act for *Disinberiting* the next Heir, is taken from the Author of this *Hereditary Succession* to the Crown, which is (a) *GOD* alone, who hath given it to the *Royal Family* for a perpetual Inheritance, and hath, by his Providence, ordained, That it should come to one of them after the Decease of another, according to Birthright and Proximity of Blood.

From this Principle, many good, wise, and learned Men infer this Conclusion, That it would be *Usurpation*, without a manifest Revelation from *GOD*, to *alienate* the Crown from this Family, to which he only hath given it, or to *preclude* any Person of it, much more

(a) Coke Littleton, Fol. 1. 6. *The Inheritance of our Lord the King is a direct Dominion, of which none is the Author but GOD alone; And from hence, as the Learned Bochart observes, the Kings of England have always stiled themselves Dei Gratia, and the Royal Shield carries this Motto, Dieu & mon Droit.*

Nay Queen Elizabeth, who through the Dubiousness of her Title, courted the People so much, yet in her Declaration for assisting the Netherlands, Printed 1585. speaks as it became such a Sovereign Princess, in this Manner; " Although Kings and Sovereign Princes, owing their " Homage and Service only unto Almighty GOD, the King of all " Kings, and in that Respect not bound to yield Account, or render a " Reason of their Actions to any other but GOD their Sovereign; and " though among the most Ancient and Christian Monarchs, the same " Lord God hath committed unto Us the Sovereignty of this Kingdom of " England, and other Dominions, which we hold immediately of the " same Almighty God; And thereby, &c.

more the next Heir, whether *apparent* or *presumptive*, from succeeding thereunto.

This Argument is not so slight, as perhaps some may think it; for if the Imperial Crown of *England* be subject to none but *GOD*, who hath given it for an Inheritance to the Royal Family, then it is very reasonable to conclude, That to endeavour to exclude the whole Royal Line to prevent Popery, would be Opposition to the Will of *GOD*; and so it may well be argued, That to exclude any one Person of the Royal Family, but most of all the next Heir upon the Line, from the absolute Right, or Birthright, which *GOD* alone hath given him, would be also to oppose the Will of *GOD*.

All these Reasons against excluding the next Heir from the Succession, are own'd by the Three Estates of *Scotland*, and would (I am confident) be owned by them still, were they to meet again. I will set them down, as I find them in an Act of Parliament of that Kingdom, Entitled,

An A C T, Acknowledging, and Asserting the Right of Succession to the Imperial Crown of *Scotland*,
August 13th, 1681.

THE Estates of Parliament considering, That the Kings of this Realm, deriving their Royal Power from *GOD Almighty* alone, do succeed Lineally thereto according to the known Degrees of Proximity in Blood, which cannot be interrupted, suspended, or diverted, by any Act or Statute whatsoever; and that none can attempt to alter or divert the said Succession, without involving the Subjects of this Kingdom in Perjury and Rebellion, and without exposing them to all the fatal and dreadful Consequences of a Civil War: Do therefore, from a hearty and sincere Sense of their Duty, Recognize, Acknowledge and Declare, That the Right to the Imperial Crown of this Realm is, by inherent Right, and the Nature of the Monarchy, as well as by the Fundamental, and unalterable Laws of this Realm, transmitted and devolved by a Lineal Succession, according to the Proximity of Blood, and that upon the Death of the King or Queen who actually Reigns, the Subjects of this Kingdom are bound by Law, Duty and Allegiance, to obey the next, immediate, and lawful Heir, either Male or Female, upon which the Right and Administration of the Government is immediately devolved, Right and Administration of the Government is immediately devolved, and that no Difference in Religion, nor no Law, or Act of Parliament, made, or to be made, can alter or divert the Right of Succession, and Lineal Descent of the Crown to the nearest and lawful Heirs, according to the Degrees aforesaid; nor can stop, or hinder them in the full, free, and actual Administration of the Government, according to the Laws of this Kingdom. Likeas Our Sovereign Lord, &c.

To this Declaration of the Three Estates in *Scotland*, I shall add the Judgment of the Vice Chancellor, Heads of Houses, Doctors, and

other Learned, and Loyal Members of the *University of Cambridge*, in their *Address* to his *Majesty* at *New-Market*, *September 18. 1681*. wherein they declare, " That they will still believe and maintain " that our *Kings* derive not their *Titles* from the *People*, but from " *G O D* " That to him *only* they are *accountable* ; that it belongs not " to *Subjects* either to *Create*, or *Censure*, but to *Honour* and *Obe*y " their *Sovereign*, who comes to be so by a *Fundamental Hereditary* " *Right of Succession*, which no *Religion*, no *Law*, no *Fault*, or " *Forfeiture* can *alter* or *diminish*. " By the *Hints* here given, we may perceive, that the *Reasons* for their *Opinion*, are the same which I have insisted upon, and (I believe) they will still own, and never be ashamed thereof.

Thus by comparing the *Principles* and *Practices* of the *Whigs*, with those I have laid down, you may easily perceive the *Difference*, and the dreadful *Consequences* of *deposing* *Kings*, and *excluding* their next *Heirs* from their *Right of Succession* in *Hereditary Kingdoms* upon *Account of Religion*, or little *Grievances* in the *Exercise* of the *Regal Power*.

I shall add for a *Conclusion* ; That there's a great *Difference* betwixt *Errors* in the *Administration*, and in the *Constitution*. *Errors* in *Administration* will be in all *Sorts of Governments*, while in the *Hands of Men*. But *Errors* in *Constitution* are much more fatal, and harder to be remedy'd. For Example, they who would set up the *Two Houses of Parliament* as *Powers Co-ordinate* with the *King*, these make *Three Sovereigns*. And if they happen to interfere, or have different *Thoughts* concerning their respective *Rights* (which is almost impossible they should not, each being *Judge* for himself) then there is no *Remedy* but the *Sword*, which cannot be sheathed till one conquers the other two. As the *Commons* did in the late *Civil Wars*. And this was an *Error* in the *Constitution*, as they made it then, and as the *Whigs* make it now. But this is contrary to our *Constitution*, wherein the *King* is not *one of the Three Estates*, but *Sovereign* to them all, which is plain in our *Laws*.

Now there can be no *Error* at all in the *Constitution* in *Monarchy*, no *Errors* can befall there but in the *Administration*, to which all other *Constitutions* are lyable ? This I take to be a remarkable *Difference*.

6 AP 58

But the *Power* of the *People* which the *Whigs* set up, is equally destructive of *Common Wealths* as of *Monarchies* ; for they put the last *Resort* in the *People* in both *Constitutions*. And with that it is utterly impossible for any *Government* to subsist. For the *People* is every *Body*, that is, no *Body*. And indeed when any one cries the *People*, he means only *Himself*. Because if another differs from him, he runs him down, which is not allowing him to be the *People*, and therefore that *Word* terminates only in *Himself* !

They likewise set the *People* above *Parliaments* as well as *Kings*. Which I think by fair *Construction* of *Law* is made *Treason*, by the *Statute* in the *Sixth of Queen Anne*, entituled, *An Act for Preservation of Her Majesty's Person*, &c. for, to limit the *Power* of *King* and *Parliament* in one *Case*, is the same as in another.

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